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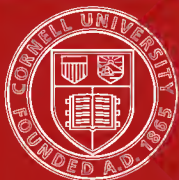
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ROMANISM IN RUSSIA:

AN HISTORICAL STUDY.

BY

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VOL. II.

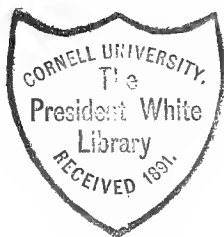


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CONTENTS.

VOL. II.

CHAPTER I.

	PAGE
STATE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH UNDER THE REIGN OF THE EMPEROR PAUL	1

CHAPTER II.

SYSTEM OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE LATIN CLERGY UNDER THE EMPEROR ALEXANDER	53
---	----

CHAPTER III.

THE JESUITS UNDER THE EMPEROR ALEXANDER I. .	82
--	----

CHAPTER IV.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE CLERGY FROM THE EXPULSION OF THE JESUITS. STATE OF THE SECULAR CLERGY UNDER THE EMPEROR ALEXANDER I.	132
--	-----

CHAPTER V.

THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS UNDER THE EMPEROR ALEXANDER	174
--	-----

CHAPTER VI.

	PAGE
A GENERAL SURVEY OF THE POSITION OF THE LATIN CLERGY DURING THE REIGN OF THE EMPEROR ALEX- ANDER—THEIR MISSION WORK, AND ITS MECHANISM AND RESOURCES—RULES OF PROCEDURE FOR THE CLERGY IN THEIR RELATIONS WITH ROME . . .	200
CONCLUSION	367

ROMANISM IN RUSSIA.

CHAPTER I.

STATE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH UNDER THE REIGN OF THE EMPEROR PAUL.

At the commencement of his reign, the Emperor Paul showers favours upon Siestrencewitz and names him Metropolitan, 1798.—The system of the Empress Catherine in the ecclesiastical administration preserved.—Establishment of a department for the affairs of the Roman clergy, 1797.—Relations with Rome.—New delimitation of the dioceses, 1798.—Augmentation of the number of dioceses and of episcopal charges.—Regulations for the churches and convents of the Catholic rite, 1798.—Nunciature of Count Litta.—He finds auxiliaries among the Knights of Malta and the French emigrants.—The Order of La Trappe introduced into Russia by emigrants.—The delimitation of the dioceses confirmed by the Nuncio, 1798.—The Emperor names the bishops to these dioceses.—The Nunciature of Count Litta appears to become permanent.—Signification of this official.—Ideas of Siestrencewitz upon the discipline of the clergy contained in his Memoire, 1798.—His ideas as to the power of the Pope and the Nunciature.—Misunderstandings of the Government and the Nuncio, and his dismissal in 1799.—Efforts of Pope Pius VII. to renew this Nunciature at St. Petersburg, 1801.—Animosity and intrigues of the Jesuits against the Metro-

politan.—Father Gruber.—The Church of St. Petersburg confided to the Jesuits.—Disgrace of the Metropolitan.—His exile, 1800.—The Jesuits do away with the administration of the Catholic Church in Russia.—They completely deteriorate its basis.—The Jesuits spread themselves over the country.—Intervention of the Emperor Paul with the Ottoman Porte in favour of the Jesuits, 1800.—Brief of the Pope for the re-establishment of the Order of the Jesuits in Russia at the request of the Emperor Paul, 1801.—Francis Carew, General of the Order.—Gruber succeeds Carew.—Siestrencewitz in his exile.—State of the United Greek Church.—Establishment of the dioceses of Brest and of Luck, 1798.—The administration of the United Greek Church devolves on the Catholic Department.—Artificial means by which the Union is sustained.—Latin Propagand.

THAT which under Catherine was the result of a system based on profound conviction, was only a work of haphazard, sometimes fortunate, but often fatal, under her successor. In State affairs the Emperor Paul pursued, as one may say, the idea of abolishing all that had been created by his mother, of doing everything contrary to what she had done, and when he found it impossible to destroy what she had instituted, he changed the name of the institution. The administration of the Roman Catholic Church, formed, nevertheless, an exception to this general plan, inasmuch as Siestrencewitz enjoyed the favour of his sovereign. The merit of this exemption belongs only to the bishop himself, to whose hands Catholicism was at this juncture confided in Russia. During the first

years of his reign, the Emperor Paul was well disposed to Siestrencewitz; he conferred on him the Order of St. Andrew, gave him in 1798 the title of Metropolitan, obtained for him and for his successors in this dignity, a cardinal's hat from Rome, and what was still more important and expressive as a particular mark of his favour, he made him Commander of the Grand Cross of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. For a short time the administration of the Catholic Church continued on the basis on which it was placed by Catherine; the episcopal authority over the entire clergy was as complete as under her reign: the relation of the State towards the Church did not vary, but some changes in detail were, however, introduced in the administration which denoted that the powerful hand of the Directress existed no more. In 1797, a special department was established in the Ministry of Justice for the affairs of the Roman clergy, but the following year this department was entirely separated from the ministry, and subordinated to the archbishop, whose importance it consequently augmented, as all cases of appeal from the Roman dioceses against the sentence of the consistories were carried to and decided by him. All this was the work of Siestrencewitz.

As to the emperor, he took an active part in the transactions occurring with Rome, and in this respect he gave an impulse to the line of conduct to be always followed by the Russian Government. The better to judge of his disposition towards the Holy See, it is interesting to glance at the resolutions written by his own hand in reply to a demand of the Pope in 1797. These resolutions define the authority of the Pope in Russia; and as very characteristic we give them in their primitive form :—

DEMANDS OF ROME.

1st. The preservation of the rights accorded to the instituted Orders of the Catholic religion.

2nd. The preservation of the property of the Clergy, and liberty of conscience.

3rd. The restoration of the ancient Order in all ecclesiastical rights, in case they have been previously modified.

4th. Of the recognition by the Catholics of the supremacy of the Pope, and the right to nominate bishops of the two rites, Catholic and United Greek, in proportion to the Catholic population of the empire.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE EMPEROR.

1st. As I have received, so I shall maintain them.

2nd. The same.

3rd. It is vain to demand this.

4th. That which has been and still subsists shall remain.

DEMANDS OF ROME.

5th. The preservation of the hierarchy; in short that a bishop cannot exercise his authority without first receiving the bull of installation and canonical authorisation from the Holy See.

6th. The preservation of the convents in their actual condition, and the amelioration of the position of the Monastic Orders.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE EMPEROR.

5th. In this case the Emperor will prescribe as appears to him necessary.

6th. It is not necessary to consider this. It is not the Emperor's affair. Left without any reply.

From these demands of Rome we may reasonably deduce the following conclusions:—that Rome, satisfied with the enactments of the Empress Catherine as to the administration of the Roman Church, wished to preserve the rights and privileges accorded the Catholic clergy by this sovereign. But at the same time Rome conceived further projects: she would domineer over the Catholics in Russia, and disregarding the power of the State, would try to propagate her creed by the augmentation of the number of dioceses. The immunities and privileges that the Catholics of Russia enjoyed were not enough for her. She cautiously required in writing a promise that they should not be violated—in a word, an obligation by the Government—a species of concordat. But the Emperor acted prudently. He gave no obligation by which the

sovereigns of Russia were bound by anything but their own individual will to act as seemed to them best for the benefit of their Catholic subjects; and as to other demands incompatible with the dignity of the empire, he rejected them altogether. It is worthy of remark that at this epoch Rome herself recognised the decadence of the Monastic Orders; already at this period she was uneasy at the diminution in the number of the convents, and of the preservation to the clergy of their landed properties, and tried to obtain a guarantee on these heads to prevent their secularisation which appeared to her probable, particularly as this question had before been mooted in the Polish Diets.

While limiting the encroaching tendencies of Rome, the Emperor Paul was far from being hostile to Catholicism or the Papacy. On the contrary, distinguished from certain other sovereigns of his time, he came to the aid of the two Popes, his contemporaries, with that chivalrous enthusiasm which characterised him. At the first intelligence of the occupation of the Roman territory by the troops of the French Republic, he proposed to Pius VI. a safe and honourable asylum in Russia. His favourite idea was to restore to the Popedom the territories and legations conquered from her by the French Republic. At the time of the assassination

of General Duphot in December, 1797, when Berthier marched against Rome, and at St. Petersburg every one feared serious dangers for the octogenarian and sick Pope, the Emperor called the Metropolitan Siestrencewitz on the 24th January, 1798, and said, requesting him to be seated :—

“ You know what is passing at Rome ; the next two or three couriers may bring the news of the Pope’s death, as they have already administered the Communion. I foresee what may happen. The French may or may not elect a Pope. He may even be canonically elected ; but later prove by his mandates and his bulls that his opinions are French, and not conformable to the dogmas of the Catholic Church and the Gospel. In this case it is necessary to foresee and be ready to act. He rules over ten millions of flocks. I respect the Catholic religion, and will that it remains intact. We shall quietly await the news of the death of his Holiness, which must shortly happen ; and I now request you not to mention that which I shall say to you. I wish you to be prepared for this event, that the order and tranquillity of the Catholic Church in our dominions be not disturbed. If the new Pope be orthodox all will be well ; if he be constitutional, things shall remain as they are at present. His bulls and mandates shall be received

as before with the sovereign approbation ; but if he shows that he propagates French maxims, and that political exigence obliges us to forbid them, then I shall declare you Chief of the Church in Russia in order to rescue the Catholic faith. I repeat, therefore, that if the newly elected Pope be not orthodox in his bulls and maxims—to be determined by future facts—and as it may happen that he be not, it will be necessary to be ready, that the novelty of the case embarrass us not. The fifteen months of my reign, which the Almighty has blessed, has taught me to foresee events. A Catholic has prophesied that in the year 1798 there would be no Pope, and in the cupola of St. Peter, where there are the medallions and the relics of all the Popes, the place for Pius VI. is the last.”*

On the elevation of Pius VII. to the pontifical throne, the Emperor renewed the offer he had made to Pius VI., through Monsieur Italinsky, his minister at the Court of Naples. The Pope was exceedingly touched. “This new proof of your kindness and magnanimity,” he replied to the Emperor, “has excited in our heart the most lively gratitude. But,” he added, “as to what concerns our departure, we should only think of it in case that circumstances of importance imperiously demand it for the good of religion, without any

* Memoirs written by Siestrencewitz.

particular solicitude for ourselves. We avow, however, that the amicable and sincere intentions of the French Government have relieved us from all apprehension on this head. Thus we have remained quietly in our See, and our hopes have not been deceived. The conduct of the French army in our States corresponds perfectly with the declarations and commands of its Government; and justice obliges us to acknowledge it to your Imperial Majesty. But if circumstances happily permitted us to remain in our States, we, nevertheless, retain eternal gratitude in the depths of our heart for your Majesty's friendship, testified on this occasion." Pope Pius VII. did not cease to prove his gratitude to the Emperor Paul, and to try to merit his good opinion. An autograph letter written to this Sovereign, dated 9th March, 1801, expresses the Pope's private feelings:—"As the successor of Pius VI., we claim from your imperial Majesty the same interest testified towards this great Pontiff since the day that he enjoyed in this city the presence of your Majesty.* Animated by the sentiments of friendship and admiration inherited from our predecessor, and bound by the strongest cords of gratitude for many proofs of interest in us, we have grounds to hope that the same goodness may be extended towards ourselves. But our confidence

* The Emperor Paul had visited Rome when Grand Duke.

is still more firmly fixed on that grandeur of soul of your Imperial Majesty, which will certainly not fail to support the Church of Rome by your distinguished protection."

Returning now to the interior organisation of the Catholic Church in Russia, we must preliminarily remark that in 1798 there took place a new delimitation of the dioceses. They were formed into six. 1st. The Archbishopric of Mohilew for White Russia, including the government of Kiew and all the churches of the empire that made no part with any other diocese. 2nd. The Bishopric of Wilna for the governments of Lithuania (actually the government of Wilna and Grodno) and Courland with the exception of Samogitia. 3rd. The Bishopric of Samogitia in the actual government of Kowno. 4th. The diocese of Luck for the Volhynia. 5th. Kamience for Podolia. And 6th. The Bishopric of Minsk; for the government of the same name. A vicar to each bishop was appointed; and the Archbishop received three, one of whom bore the title of Suffragan of Mohilew, who was charged with the affairs of the See, as the Metropolitan generally resided at St. Petersburg. The second vicar resided at Polotsk, and the third at Kiew.

This augmentation of the dioceses and ecclesiastical appointments, although conformable to the

principles of administration followed until then, would probably never have taken place under the Empress Catherine. As for the Catholics they were quite useless; and for an empire now Catholic in the midst of a population of the Greek rites, they were unnecessary. But it is not difficult to excuse Siestrencewitz, who was a Roman Catholic prelate and not a Russian Statesman; it was only natural that he was not indifferent to the propagation of Catholicism, and that in this instance he seconded that in which he was not guided by the Government. Ultramontane fanatics reproached him in not having taken greater advantage of the reign of the Emperor Paul to spread his creed in Russia. That this multiplication of dioceses was unnecessary may be judged by the fact that a short period before, under the Polish domination, at a time when Romanism was the established religion, the country of Minsk did not form a diocese apart, but with its northern districts belonged to the See of Wilna, of which it formed a deanery with fifteen churches, its southern divisions appertaining to the Bishopric of Luck. This country, adhering to the Greek faith from time immemorial, did not commence to be Romanised till the end of the sixteenth century, when the Monastic Orders increased so numerously that at the close of the

last century there were more convents than parish churches in the government of Minsk. This fact confirms our opinion above stated, as to the aim and signification of the religious fraternities in the Western provinces. At the time of the erection of the diocese of Minsk, there were only in the Government fifty churches, whereas the Bull authorising its formation enumerates one hundred and fifty, apparently to justify the extension. It is evident that the establishment of this useless diocese, which was not deficient in clergy, served only to propagate Popery, to draw closer the lines of the union, and to spread it amongst the populations. The creation of vicarats, too, had no other intention: If the vicars were of any utility in the See, as the Metropolitan resided at St. Petersburg, their number was exaggerated; but these vicarages were altogether useless for the diocese, as well as for all other bishoprics which did not surpass the limits of a government. With the exception of Samogitia, these governments had only a few churches and congregations belonging to the Latin faith in comparison to other Confessions. The government of Volhynia contained one hundred churches, and there were still more in that of Podolia. To permit liberty of conscience to every man is the duty of an equitable

government, but to propagate a strange religion in a country where there is a recognised and established faith, is not the obligation of sovereigns. In this case the Russian Government acted, not in the interests of the empire, but in those of Rome, and it merits Catholic gratitude for its particular kindness towards the Roman Church.

In short, as we have mentioned, the principal basis of the administration was preserved. The ukase for an establishment of the dioceses confirmed the limits allotted to the power of the Pope in the empire as traced by Catherine, by prohibiting the promulgation of his bulls and briefs without the supreme authority, and controlling all direct relations between the clergy and foreign interference. The subordination of the Monastic Orders and their Provincials to the Bishops—the nomination to capitulary as well as parochial dignities by the Bishops without being trammelled by patrons—was also confirmed. Thus, while the domain of Romanism was extended, the administrative organisation of the Church was not changed. These principles were still more developed in the regulation for the convents and the Roman Catholic churches of the empire, published in 1798. As the Monastic Orders were in the most complete disorganisation—a fact of which even Rome herself

was convinced—their regulation became imperative. Notwithstanding the subordination enjoined towards their diocesan Bishops, adopted by the Russian Government as the base of their re-organisation, they were, nevertheless, relatively independent, as they preserved the right to meet for the discussion of the affairs of their Order, and for the election of Provincials, Priors, and other superiors. The elected owing only their election to their constituents, often refused obedience to the Bishops, who had no voice in their nomination. These assemblies of the Orders were, therefore, abolished as inconvenient or useless for the Convents, seeing that the Monks very often went to distant districts. The choice of the Provincials and other Monastic Superiors lay with the Bishop, who also received authority to inspect the establishments, but complaints against the Provincials were to be carried to the local consistories. The Monks were not permitted peregrinations from one diocese to another, or allowed to absent themselves voluntarily, or even to quit the convent for any length of time, though remaining in the same diocese, without a written permission from the Prior or Superior. They were forbidden to preach or publish works on political matters, particularly concerning the Government, and were recommended

to exercise themselves in Christian virtues and religious meditations. To prevent the entry of individuals into an Order who were not quite decided as to their vocation, who might later repent of that on which they had not sufficiently reflected, it was enacted that novices should only make a simple vow, *simplicia vota*, but the more solemn and definite one should not be pronounced until after consecration as under deacon. A woman before becoming a nun should attain her twenty-second year. All convents, without distinction of Order, were held to contribute to the public support, according to their means. As stated in the regulations, "all Monastic Orders shall serve the country, and contribute to its welfare;" the one, like the Jesuits and the Piores, by instructing youth conformably to their rules; the others, who live in retirement like the Carmelites and Cistercians, by sacrificing a part of their revenues for the support of hospitals, hospices, and schools; the nuns by educating poor girls, attending the sick, and solacing the indigent and unfortunate. It is worthy of remark, that the regulations defined the true signification of the ecclesiastical estates, which were recognised as belonging to the clergy generally, and not exclusively to churches and convents merely because written in their name. This defi-

nition forbade the sale or exchange of these estates, and the Bishops were charged to see that they were not dissipated. In this way, the regulations confirmed and developed the general principle of the hierarchical organisation of the Roman clergy which the Empress Catherine had laid down as the fundamental basis of the administration.

Rome hurried to affix her sanction to the new delimitation of the dioceses published by the Emperor, and, under this pretext, delegated a Nuncio to Russia. During the last years of the reign of the Empress Catherine, the Pope had exerted every effort to have a representative at her Court, and had destined Count Litta, formerly Legate at Warsaw, to this post. At Warsaw the Count had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with some influential Russians; he had also a support in the person of his brother, the Minister of the Order of Malta. The Russian Government had foreseen this move in time, and for six months made no response to the demands of the Court of Rome. But on the renewal of attempts to forward this scheme, she, in 1796, exacted a preliminary declaration from the Pope as to the mission he had confided to his Legate—upon the extent of his authority, and, at the same time, gave him to understand that even negotia-

tions with respect to this subject could not be commenced before certain demands of the Russian Government were complied with—at the head of which stood the elevation of Siestrencewitz to the dignity of a Cardinal. That which under Catherine Rome could not obtain, she succeeded in gaining from her successor. Without any conditions or explanations, Count Litta, Archbishop of Thebes, arrived in St. Petersburg as Legate, officially to confirm the new dioceses. He found active and zealous auxiliaries among the French emigrants, residing in Russia, particularly in the members of the Order of Malta, who were favoured by the Emperor. The Count of Provence, in the suite of Louis XVIII., lived in Courland, and the Count d'Artois, afterwards Charles X., resided at St. Petersburg, while the Prince of Condé, with a whole army of emigrants, occupied the Volhynia. These exiles were devoted to Rome, and supported her on every occasion. With the Princess of Condé came the Order of La Trappe, the lady herself becoming Superior of the Nuns of this Society at Orsha, to whom, by command of the Emperor, the Basilians had to give up the edifice which they possessed in that city. It was at Orsha, also, that the Monks of La Trappe were placed, domiciled in a Convent of the Bernardines. This Order, however, did not

long exist in Russia, "all their wisdom and their virtue," said a contemporary, "consisting in the art of silence." The Emperor Paul, finding it useless to support a society for a science so easy and unnecessary, abolished it a short time after its arrival, and ordered the novices to be sent to their parents to learn to speak, but with reflexion. The Knights of Malta, who enjoyed the special favour of the Emperor, supported the Legate, the more so that his brother, who was greatly esteemed by Paul, belonged to their number, having arrived to offer his Majesty the Grand Mastership and Protectorship of the Order.

On the 27th of July, 1798, the Legate confirmed the delimitation of the new episcopal sees. The diocese of Minsk had a chapter of six prelates, six canons, and six curates ; and the Legate seized this opportunity to augment the number of suffragans for his chief, contrary to the ukase of the 26th April, by which law it was determined, as we have seen, that every bishop, with the exception of the Archbishop of Mohilew, should have but one. Litta knew perfectly well the regulation on this point ; but instead of conforming to it, he inserted in the act constituting the Bishopric, four suffragans for the diocese of Wilna, viz : Wilna, Courland, Trocky, and Brest. This modification of the uskase,

though never confirmed by the Government, was never abolished, as it was disagreeable to deprive those actually in office of their places.

But afterwards others were again elevated to those dignities, without any regard to the regularity or legality of their nomination. The Emperor named Kossakowsky, *ci-devant* Bishop of Inlandt, to the See of Wilna; Cieciszewski, *ci-devant* Bishop of Zytomir, to Luck; Prince Joseph Gedroic to Samogitia; and Dembowsky, and afterwards Sierakowsky, to Kamience, with Dederko to the See of Minsk.

The Bishops of Samogitia and Luck preserved their estates, which were considerable. Samogitia counted 4479, Luck 2346 peasants on their lands. The other bishops received fiscal emoluments. The Archbishop and Bishop of Wilna were allowed the same subsidy as under the Empress Catherine, while Kamience and Minsk received a sum of six thousand rubles each yearly. It is worthy of attention that at this juncture Rome contemplated the erection of a seventh diocese in the South. She however cherished this idea in silence, and with her usual perseverance carried out her object by the concordat of 1846.

The confirmation of the new diocese was only a pretext for the mission of Count Litta, the real object of Rome being the establishment of

a permanent Nunciature in Russia. The Empress Catherine had foreseen this, and declined to receive a Legate in her empire before the negotiations with which he was charged were declared. As such precautions were not taken later, Rome carried out her designs. Having accomplished the official mission, the Count continued to reside at St. Petersburg as Legate. The important signification of this functionary was that Rome maintained not merely a diplomatic agent who acquainted her with all that was passing in the country to which he was accredited, but was at the same time a medium through which she directly governed the church and the Roman Catholic clergy. The Nuncio represented the double power of the Pope; the temporal power as sovereign of the States of the Church, and the spiritual power as chief of that Church. Thus his representative was not only a simple envoy like the diplomatic agents of other countries, but what is more important, he arbitrated in the ecclesiastical administration of the country where he resided.

In Poland there had formerly been a permanent Nuncio, who from thence governed all the Latin clergy both of that kingdom and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. This functionary decided and resolved all the important questions of

the administration. It was he who judged the bishops, who distributed ecclesiastical dignities either in the name of the king or of his own chief. He interfered in the interior organisation of the clergy, abrogated the power of the Government, and extended the power of the Pope to almost unlimited extent, so that through his medium Rome might be said to have been transported to Poland. The clergy, forming in every acceptance of the word *status in statu*, nearly altogether forgot their nationality, considering themselves as citizens of the Roman caste spread all over the universe. Thus, entirely devoted to Rome, and to their own privileges, it was very natural that they forgot their country's welfare. It was this which disquieted Russia in the newly annexed provinces, where the clergy were already separated from the rest of the empire by nationality and idiom,—where the Government necessarily tried to produce a fusion with the other and interior parts of the country. The establishment of a Nuncio could only infuse a stronger element of divergence between the body and the members of the empire, but happily the success of Rome was of short duration: the mistake was quickly perceived, and the Nunciature was abolished.

The Metropolitan Siestrenczewitz could not from

his convictions and his knowledge of the country conceive the idea of extending the influence of Rome so far beyond rational limits in Russia. These convictions are manifest in all the reorganisation of the Latin clergy under Catherine, and during the first years of the reign of the Emperor Paul. All these reforms prove a sincere desire to save the Church and raise it, and to ameliorate the condition of the clergy; but the intervention of Rome, who disquieted herself more about prerogatives than the religion she was called upon to preach, was declined. His opinions upon the pretensions of the Court of Rome are very aptly expressed in an autograph memorandum preserved in the Archives of the Ministry at Moscow, bearing this title :—" *De la hiérarchie de l'église Catholique dans l'Empire.*" It was upon the basis of this document that, in 1798, the regulations above-mentioned were drawn up; but these regulations were only part of a project relating exclusively to the Monastic Orders, while the original memorandum of Siestrencewitz embraced every department of the administration of the clergy; for example: the duties of the bishops; the institution of seminaries; the erection of schools; and that which was most important, it indicated the motives for the proposed reforms. The ques-

tion of the seminaries was separated from the general project and examined by the Senate, but was not decided until the reign of the Emperor Alexander I. As to the bishops the clause concerning them was also excluded, as, after the abbreviation of the primitive design, it did not longer relate to all the ecclesiastical administration for which it was destined; and the preambles merely explained how indispensable were the measures taken. But these explanations unveiled the very essence of the published enactments, the opinions upon the relations between the temporal and the spiritual power, and the signification of the influence of Rome. Examining them closely, we find the memorandum commences by the following definition of the supremacy of the Roman Church:—
“The sovereign has a right to the obedience and the fidelity of all his subjects of whatever religion or station they may be, either ecclesiastical or secular, not only as regards their social existence, but also by conscientiously following the precepts of Holy Scripture. As the Anointed of the Lord he is supreme in his empire over the Churches and the Christian clergy. As for the Catholic Church, the sovereign permits it to retain its dependence on the Pope as its chief in all that relates to its dogmas; but for the interior discipline and govern-

ment in his dominions, it is confided to the diocesan bishops, his subjects," named always by the Emperor himself, and consecrated by the metropolitan with the benediction of the Pope. The bishops possessed the same ecclesiastical authority which the prelates of the Church enjoyed during the first ten centuries of Christianity, before Gregory VI. abridged their power. They were amenable to a permanent Synod sitting at St. Petersburg. The memorandum goes on to say:—"In the primitive Church, before the Popes had arrogated the interior jurisdiction of the dioceses, the archbishop assembled a council twice a year to decide the doctrinal discussions which were then the mode, as well as the affairs of the bishop. Such a council should be permanent at St. Petersburg, the Emperor himself to name the subjects of discussion, under the presidency of the archbishop when he came to the capital to visit the churches as customary. A secular Procureur should attend for the Emperor, and could arrest the execution of decrees and resolutions which he had reason to suspect. Whatever broached on the rights, or was contrary to the laws of the country, should be laid by him before the Senate. With respect to the proposed reforms of the Monastic Orders, Siestrencwitz thus expressed himself—these reforms, by

the way, being partly realized:—"The first Monks lived in the deserts from which the early Christian bishops called them to the towns to succour their flocks. Their number increased, owing to the sanctity of their exterior severities and the ignorance and superstition of centuries, to such a point, that in the suburbs of Constantinople alone there were more than a hundred thousand Monks, and these men elevated or dethroned emperors or patriarchs alike. The Popes of Rome, seeing such an engine in the hands of the Church, resolved to raise a similar army of their own for similar purposes; and, understanding the spirit of the men, instituted for them religious Orders, leaving them free choice as to which to enter according to their wishes. The Pope secured their attachment by exempting them from the jurisdiction of the bishops and their legitimate sovereigns, obliging them only to submit to the Generals of their Order, to whom exclusively they took an oath of obedience, and who resided at Rome. Two other vows were imposed upon them, the one forbidding them to marry, the other to have any personal property. Their regulations isolated and detached them from their country, from their family, and from their relations, and even discharged them from submission to their sovereign, so that in some cases,

the commands they received from their Generals amounted to absolution of their oath of allegiance to their legitimate prince. They executed these orders without hesitation, and passed into other countries, where in the convents of the same Order, they found, as one may term it, their native land. This establishment will be destroyed to its foundation when, in the first place, the religious shall submit exclusively to the jurisdiction of the diocesan bishops; secondly, when they shall be prohibited the least relation with their Generals; thirdly, when in making their profession, they shall have for the object of their vows spiritual obedience, and the diocesan bishops as Generals of their Order; and fourthly, that they shall always beforehand take the oath of allegiance to their sovereign. The diversity of the religious Orders, which is as pernicious to the State as the too great number of devotees, would disappear under an exterior similarity of dress; for example, a black cassock over the habit of the Order. By this regulation, some old men who are from long custom attached to their costume, need not be forced to wear the frock; and those who like to conform to uniformity—and they are the greater number—wearing the dress of the secular clergy, and disfranchised from the caprices of their superiors and

monastic brethren, will be accustomed to the execution of general regulations instituted for the monasteries, and established in the dioceses for the benefit of humanity." With the view of drawing together the different Monastic Orders, Siestrencewitz proposed to send provincials designated by the bishop, to inspect the convents, without distinction as to whether they were or were not of the Order to which this functionary belonged. By this plan he thought to do away with the inconveniences: first, that the visitor should not be compelled to run all over the diocese from one spot to another to find the convent of his Order, but could visit those in his vicinity; and secondly, in this way evade all partiality and too great intimacy with the brethren, a condescension which often induced the concealment of gross disorder.

It was impossible to separate more clearly the doctrine of the dogmas of the Church from the abuses which belonged, properly speaking, only to the organisation and administration of the clergy supported by Rome for the furtherance of her own omnipotence, than Siestrencewitz here did. With respect to the dogmas, he marched openly against the abuses of the Papal power, but as Metropolitan of the Roman Church he could not blindly curb it before all the injunctions emanating from Rome.

Good Catholic as he was, he was yet not a fanatical priest. He recognised the Pope as head of his Church, but not as autocrat. So far from touching the dogmas of the faith, he tried only to uproot those abuses incompatible with the true spirit of Christianity,—abuses which the Popes themselves had left or introduced into the Church. In the eyes of the Ultramontanists this was a crime; but it was a signal merit in the sight of those who desired to see the faith, and not the domination of caste, confirmed. Indeed the Latin priesthood, as constituted by Rome, often hid religion;—with them it was Rome first, religion afterwards. It sufficed to see the Pope and his entourage officially, to be convinced that it was not to the Almighty, but to the Roman Pontiff that they rendered homage—it was only behind him that they perceived Christ crucified.

The epoch of Siestrencewitz appeared peculiarly suitable for Catholicism. Corrupted by purely mundane considerations, and debased in public opinion, it was upon the point of sinking altogether in the Polish provinces. Reforms were indispensable; but Rome, menaced by the French Revolution, had only time to think of herself. Therefore, not only partial reforms, but a radical re-organization in the whole discipline of the Latin Church in Russia

was possible. For the preservation of this Church its reformer could well sacrifice the ambitious views of its servants. History itself presents us with a very striking example of how the Catholic clergy themselves set bounds to the authority of the Popes. Until the present day there exists at Utrecht in Holland a Catholic Church whose bishops, though faithful to the dogmas of the Roman creed, and recognising the Pope as Head of the Church, would not tolerate his intervention in the discipline and organisation of the priesthood; and, without demanding his permission and authority, they themselves consecrated their bishops according to the rules of the primitive Church, confining themselves to informing Rome afterwards of the nomination of those whom they elevated to the episcopal dignity. According to the above it is not difficult to see how Siestrencewitz regarded the Nunciature of Count Litta. Hardly had the imperial sanction been given to his official recognition, when the Metropolitan presented to the Emperor a brochure entitled "*The Election of the Popes*," in which he demonstrated how indispensable it was to limit the authority of the Holy Father in Russia. He clearly proved from history that during the first centuries of Christianity the Popes were elected by the clergy and the people,

but were confirmed by the Emperor. He showed that even the consent of Rome to the consecration of the bishops was only a simple sign of ecclesiastical unity ; and that the administrative authority in the dioceses belonged to the local bishops in so far as the laws of the State permitted. The memorials afterwards presented by Siestrencewitz developed the same convictions, grounded on positive proofs contrary to the pretensions of the Nuncio to enjoy the right of jurisdiction and the administration of the clergy in the empire. He even demanded that the bulls of the Pope should not only be submitted to the sanction of the Government, as hitherto practised in Russia, but that Rome should send no bull or brief, unless at the express desire or demand of the Metropolitan, authorised by the Imperial Government.

The Pope's Legate, Count Litta, brother of the favourite of the Emperor, was well received at St. Petersburg. The Princes Bezborodko and Repnin were chosen to conduct negotiations with him ; and when Repnin afterwards left for Lithuania, Bezborodko alone continued the conference. From his arrival Litta commenced to interfere in politics, in the interior administration of the dioceses, and particularly in the interests of the United Greeks. The Jesuits seized the opportunity to profit by his

presence, and made every effort to emancipate themselves from dependence on the Metropolitan, and to be amenable only to their own General. The Emperor for a long time refused to see this ; but in November, 1798, he commanded Count Rostopchin to inform Siestrencewitz that the Nuncio should not interfere so much in affairs. Dating from this moment, the influence of the Nuncio with the Emperor declined.

The Metropolitan's authority over all the clergy, with the confirmation of all the edicts previously promulgated on the subject of the examination of the Bulls of the Pope, was established ; " so that the Holy Father, banished as he was from the Apostolic See, and driven into a foreign country, could not forward to the bishops or other superiors of the Latin priesthood in the annexed Polish provinces, any bulls or briefs likely to induce conflicts and tend to unsettle the country." Recognising existing laws as sufficient for the regular transaction of the affairs of the Roman priesthood, the Emperor required the Metropolitan and other ecclesiastical authorities to direct their flocks according to the intentions of the above-named prescriptions and decrees which should afterwards be issued concerning the same, without paying any regard to the bulls of the Pope, " which we do not

acknowledge as necessary ;" it is said in the rescript addressed on this subject to the archbishop—" seeing that the power from which they emanate is actually through force of circumstances inactive."

The Emperor meeting the Metropolitan on the 27th March, 1799, said to him: "Should the Nuncio encroach on the imperial prerogative, should he interfere with jurisdiction and act contrary to the institutions I have confirmed, I charge you to take the place of Procureur-General. You will not forget to address yourself to me in everything." Shortly after this Litta transmitted a memorandum to the Ministry, which bore evident marks of discontent, upon the pretended infraction of the rights of the Holy Father, on the occasion of the rescript sent to the Archbishop Metropolitan Siestrencewitz, 17th March, 1799, with respect to the reception of the Papal bulls in Russia. In reply to these observations of the Nuncio the Ministry thought fit to remit a note, in which, after having made him feel that there was neither persecution nor intolerance in the resolutions of this rescript, finished by declaring, first,—that in all things concerning the temporal power of the Roman Catholic Church in Russia, it shall be subject without restriction to the civil jurisdiction. Se-

condly, that the supremacy of the Roman Pontiff shall be limited exclusively to the spiritual, that is to say, to the maintenance of the ceremonies, rites, and dogmas of his Church, on which depends the complete unity of the chief and the members. Thirdly, that it should be only to objects of a spiritual nature that the bulls of the holy Father should refer, in addressing himself to the bishops of the Catholic churches in Russia. And, fourthly, to be assured that these bulls pass not the limits prescribed, it is necessary that every Catholic subject who demands one first obtain the consent of His Imperial Majesty, and before the reception of such in the empire they be presented to the Emperor, that the necessary *visé* be every time affixed.

The opposition of the Legate to the measures of the Government irritated the Emperor, particularly as this opposition appeared to be systematic. In the first place, he protested against the choice of his Majesty in selecting Mgr. Sierakowski to the see of Kamienec, instead of his own candidate Dembowsky. Prince Bezborodko begged the Metropolitan to exert his influence to induce the Nuncio to desist from his pretensions, and to remind him that, as he had himself once had occasion to see, the Emperor never rescinded his deci-

sions. But Litta declared that he should refuse Sierakowski the powers, without which he could not govern his See. The Emperor became furious. Hearing of his Majesty's indignation, Litta immediately remitted to Rostopchin, then Minister of Foreign Affairs, the necessary authority by which Sierakowski could administer the diocese for a term of six years. But this concession arrived too late. Next day the Nuncio received a command not to present himself at Court; and a short time afterwards the Nunciature was abolished, Litta receiving an intimation to quit St. Petersburg within twenty-four hours. The Metropolitan was charged to communicate to the Pope the reasons for his Envoy's dismissal, the despatch being forwarded through the medium of Souwaroff.

Under Pope Pius VII. Rome again endeavoured to persuade the Russian Government that a Nuncio was requisite at St. Petersburg. The interest which the Emperor Paul took in the Knights of Malta seemed to presage that relations might be easily brought about between the two Courts. On this occasion Senator Lisakewicz was sent to Rome in 1801, to whom the Pope expressed his desire that a Nunciature should be established in Russia; adding, "My views extend even farther; I desire to unite the Greek and Catholic Churches.

To effect such an important object, which would immortalise the name of the Great Paul I., I am ready to go personally to St. Petersburg to treat directly with the Emperor, whose character is eminently loyal, just, and chivalrous."

After the departure of Count Litta, Siestrencewitz did not long remain chief of the Catholic Church in Russia, and therefore could not accomplish all the reforms he had marked out. His ancient enemies the Jesuits could not see with indifference the gradually increasing power of the Metropolitan. For them he was a menace, inasmuch as he neither esteemed nor liked their Order, and by the regulations of 1798 they were subjected to episcopal authority. In paragraph twenty-three of the rules it is stated: "Monks capable of teaching, like the Jesuits and the Piales, must so employ their time, subject to the surveillance of the Archbishop, who, with regard to scientific objects which are useful to society, acts in concert with the civil power." This clause imposed control over the principal object of the institution of the Jesuits—the instruction of youth—the system and the means of which they kept a profound secret. This regulation was the most sensible blow their Order could receive; and after some time they decided to make war on the Metropolitan by every means

in their power, notwithstanding that he enjoyed the protection of the Emperor, and had arrived at such an exalted position in the Roman Catholic Church in Russia, that he might be said to be the Patriarch of that religion. They selected as their instrument a Jesuit lately arrived from Austria, one Gruber, a cunning and able man, especially versed in physical and mechanical sciences, in which he had made some discoveries. He came to St. Petersburg on pretence of presenting the Academy of Sciences with models of the improvements which he had succeeded in making in Mechanics. There he found a great number of protectors, among others some Russian nobles, with whom he had made acquaintance in passing through Polotsk, and who while in that place were enchanted with the cabinet of physique, typography, and other scientific departments, well arranged and organised, belonging to the Jesuits. Gruber, and the members of the Order who accompanied him, introduced themselves into society, visited the Academy, went every where, and foresaw the possibility of contracting useful connexions, distinguishing themselves by their accomplishments and an affectation of extreme modesty. The reputation of their learning and their exemplary piety reached the Emperor. He summoned Gruber, admired him greatly, and

as a mark of his favour conferred on him an Order of Knighthood. Gruber thanked his Majesty, but declined the decoration, on the plea that the rules of his Order prevented him. He artfully added, that he humbly devoted his services to sovereigns and their subjects only for the glory of God, *ad majorem Dei gloriam*. This reply told upon the Emperor, who accorded him free access to his cabinet, late and early, repeating on every occasion the words, "*ad majorem Dei gloriam*." These visits to the Sovereign were not fruitless for the Jesuits; they received the Church of St. Petersburg with all its endowments, and they at once opened a school and a seminary. Once established, they embellished their church, did everything to please their parishioners, took nothing, at least in appearance, for their spiritual aid, and introduced preachers who understood many languages into the capital. Everybody spoke of the Jesuits, who obtained authority to augment their numbers in Western Russia, where, until this period, there had only been a single noviciate at Polotsk. The Emperor restored the estates of their Society which had been confiscated by the Polish Government when their Order was abolished in 1773. The Metropolitan obeyed his Sovereign's orders silently; the slightest contradiction would only accelerate the downfall of

those institutions and reforms which he had so laboriously erected in the ecclesiastical department;—this took place, however, only some months later. The Jesuits were not content with the church of St. Petersburg only; they endeavoured to take root in the capital, and grasped at the administration of the Latin clergy. In this they completely succeeded. Themselves screened from observation, their emissaries carried continual complaints against the Catholic department in the Ministry of Justice, presided over by the Metropolitan. The Emperor, desiring to ascertain the truth, called Gruber to question him on the subject, and the victory rested with the brethren. Siestrenczewitz was forbidden to appear at Court, and the decoration of the Knights of Malta which he wore was taken from him.

Some days later, at eleven in the evening, M. Silberharnisch, the Chief of the Police, waited on him at his residence in the district of Kolomna, near the church. He found the prelate in bed, and intimated the pleasure of the Emperor that he should rise immediately and proceed to the Hotel of St. John (of the Order of Malta) to make way for Gruber. The Metropolitan arose, and at three o'clock in the morning was again in bed at the Hotel. Gruber arrived, took possession of the

church, and at an interview with those of his parishioners who were his friends, he said, "Confess that I have well swept the Church." The Metropolitan, ignorant of his offence, and still more so of his future destiny, repaired to Count Pahlen, the Governor-General of the city, and demanded to know what he had done that he should be forbidden to appear at Court. "In truth I do not know," replied the Count. He added, however, "How do you stand with Gruber?" This question was enough. Siestrencewitz no longer doubted that Gruber's manœuvres had caused his disgrace. From Count Pahlen he went to Koutousoff, the Governor-General of Wilna, who was an old friend of his, and asked the same question. The reply was more definite. "Father Gruber," said he, "complained of you before me, but I considered his complaints so very unimportant, that I tried hard to bring about a reconciliation. Come to me to-morrow evening at seven; I shall also invite Gruber to come without fail." The Metropolitan was punctual to this appointment, and waited till nine o'clock for Gruber, but in vain. He then comprehended that the Father was false, and that his intentions to ruin him were unextinguishable and inveterate. This was but the commencement of the drama. The Père Gruber, who

had, as we know, the right of entrée to the Emperor at all hours, presented himself as usual. "What is the news?" said his Majesty. "What is the conversation about in town?" "They amuse each other," answered Gruber, "about the Ukase which your Majesty has issued in our favour." "Who dares to do so?" exclaimed the Emperor. The Father drew from his pocket a list on which twenty-seven persons were inscribed for prescription. The order was immediately given to banish or imprison them all; some were exiled or imprisoned at once, the others some days later, and among the latter were the Metropolitan and the members of the Ministry. The Metropolitan received his congé the 14th of Nov., 1800, and was banished to his estates. "These wolves," said Gruber, "will never return."

Become arbitrators of the destinies of the Roman Catholic Church in Russia, the Jesuits, abolished and no longer recognised by the Pope, placed one of their creatures named Benislowsky, the coadjutor Bishop of the Metropolitan, at the head of the Latin hierarchy, who, according to the testimony of some less bitter enemies of Siestrencewitz, was incapable of directing such an administration. The sole aim of this man was to please his constituents the Jesuits.

After the banishment of Siestrencewitz the principal basis upon which the administration of

the Roman Catholic Church had rested since the time of the Empress Catherine was destroyed to its foundation, the episcopal power was paralysed, and the Monastic corporations replaced on their former footing. Benislawsky, a blind instrument in the hands of the Jesuits, executed all their orders. To diminish the influence of the President of the Catholic Department, who was the Metropolitan, the right of the nomination of the members of this department, vested in him, was rescinded, and the election was confined to the dioceses. All subordination of the bishops to the Metropolitan was abrogated by the restoration of the right of patronage for the secular clergy and the independence of the Monastic corporations, so that the bishops could only confer the priesthood on monks and permit them to confess and to celebrate. The Monastic Orders, exempt from all control, governed themselves by means of provincials of their own selection. Even under a geographical relation the provinces of the different Orders no longer corresponded with the limits of the dioceses. The Imperial Ukases lavished praises on the monks. Written, so to say, by the pen of the Jesuit, these eulogies were so exaggerated, that the rest of the clergy murmured at seeing in their chief a mute servant of that Order. A Catholic fanatic says:—

“We see with sentiments of pity and grief that the administration of the Monastic Orders by the Orders themselves produces bitter fruits for the Church.” But the Jesuits thought only of their Order, and did not labour in vain. They became the real masters of the ecclesiastical Catholic hierarchy, and profiting by their power and position they spread themselves in the course of a year to every extremity of the empire, seized some churches in the colonies of Saratoff and New Russia, built churches at Riga and Odessa, where they also established schools, and did the same at Astracan and Mozdok.

The Emperor’s protection of the Jesuits extended even beyond the limits of his empire. In a rescript of the 10th December, 1800, his Majesty desired Monsieur Tamara, his ambassador at Constantinople, to induce the Porte to accord grace to this Order, which was under his protection, and who, if their statements were correct, were exposed to persecutions in consequence of the war between France and Turkey. We remind our readers that after the abolition by the Pope of the Order of the Jesuits, these priests had been replaced in the Ottoman States by the Order of St. Lazarus. At the outbreak of the French Revolution the residents and the French Consul drove

them out, and confiscated the houses and estates of the Catholic clergy in favour of the Republic; but after the declaration of war with France the Porte in turn confiscated their property, and it was then that the Jesuits, through the intervention of the Russian Government, solicited the restoration of the estates of their Order, confiscated by the French population before the proclamation of the New Republic.

But that which crowned the intrigues of Gruber was the Brief of Pope Pius VII., dated March 7th, 1801, and published at the solicitation of the Russian Government, by which they were authorised to assemble in community under the name of the Society of Jesus, but only in the Empire of Russia, and to found schools. The Brief ran thus:—

“We permit and accord by our apostolic authority the faculty and the power to you, General of the Order, and other priests residing in Russia, to unite, associate, and form into one single body, and one whole and sole congregation, under the name of the Society of Jesus, to which those residing in the provinces, whether actual members of this society or belonging to it afterwards, may be united, this Society to reside in one or several houses at the disposal and convenience of the Order, *but in*

Russia only, and not beyond the limits of that Empire. Further, we establish and recognise you, our dear son, as General of the Ladite Company or Society, at the disposition of the Apostolic See, with all the required and necessary powers. We permit that you follow as far as you can the rules of St. Ignatius, approved of by Pope Paul III., our predecessor; and we declare that those whom you receive into your Order can apply themselves to the instruction of youth in the sciences and accomplishments, as well as in the administration of colleges and seminaries; that with the approbation of the bishop of the place they may lawfully exercise the functions of the Holy Ministry, preaching the Word of God, hearing confessions, and administering the sacraments." It is quite evident that until this time the Jesuits had no right to officiate as priests, but that during thirty years they had actually arrogated this right in Russia to themselves, in no case complying with the formal prescriptions of the Church, except when they found it convenient. Francis Carew was named General of the Order.

Pope Pius VII. on this occasion wrote personally to the Emperor Paul:—"The interest which your Majesty takes in the question relative to the canonical confirmation of the Society of Jesuits in your

Majesty's empire is an all-powerful motive to induce us to assent. We do not doubt that such a step will be a direct advantage to the Catholic religion in Russia, developing the education and culture of those subjects professing it, and extirpating depraved maxims contrary to religion, to the sovereign authority, and to society. These considerations, proper to our apostolic administration, induce us to concur in the wise views of your Imperial Majesty, and we have now the pleasure to forward the Brief by which we formally sanctioned the existence of the Jesuits in the Empire of Russia, as required in your Majesty's letter."

This epistle of the Pope did not find the Emperor longer in this life; and the Brief was put in execution at the commencement of the reign of the Emperor Alexander I., not by the General of the Order, Carew, dead in August, 1802, but by the famous Gruber, who replaced him. It is well to cite here a letter of the Chancellor to Gruber, 8th September, 1802, which accompanied the sending of the Brief, as it contains the express conditions on which the Order was permitted to exist in Russia, conditions subscribed to by the Jesuits, but quickly infringed, as we shall see. The Chancellor says:—"I have submitted to his Majesty your intention that the scientific studies in the colleges conducted

by you shall be introduced in the Russian language, and have informed him of the care you will take that nothing whatever in your colleges and convents presents the least inconvenience for the dominant religion. His Majesty flatters himself that you will exactly fulfil the promises transmitted to me in the name of your Order. Should the Emperor be informed of any case of contravention, and especially that any other than the youth of the Catholic Church embrace this doctrine, he will proceed against you with severity. These principles shall be the necessary condition of the protection of the Order of the Jesuits in Russia, and even of their future tolerance."

But the Jesuits were not satisfied that the restoration of their Order was localized to Russia. The General of the Order complained to the Pope, pretending that the Emperor Paul particularly intended that the Order reconstituted in Russia should send missionaries into other countries.

Siestrencewitz once at a distance, the ecclesiastical administration was, so to speak, dissolved. As for him, he resided on his estate of Bouynicz, six versts from Mohilew, but transferred afterwards to his other estate of Malatycz, so that he might be the farther from the capital of his diocese; there he was placed under the surveillance of the

police as a man dangerous to the Government, for which, nevertheless, he had done more than the Government did for itself. He supported this exile with dignity—an exile little merited—though reduced to complete isolation, all access to him being interdicted. But he consoled himself by resorting to the studies of his early youth, devoting his leisure to scientific pursuits, finishing at this period his work, "*La Tauride*," commencing the "*Life of Prince Potemkin*," and writing and making researches upon the origin of the Slaves.

It is easier to recount than to explain the chequered destiny of the union under the late Emperor Paul. He never appears to have even considered its transitory doctrines, and always ignored the institutions connected with it. His character, besides, led him into extremes, either into strong sympathies or inveterate dislikes. He many times said to the Metropolitan Siestrenczewitz, in speaking of the union, "I don't like it. It is neither one thing nor the other,—neither fish nor flesh." One day in the year 1799, he said more explicitly: "I cannot bear the Unionists—you understand me?" But it is exceedingly difficult to comprehend the measures then taken by the Government with regard to the United Greeks. In 1797 Rome demanded the re-establishment of

the subordination of all the United Greek dioceses to the Metropolitan of the same Church, whose episcopal seat was Lwow, and who had become an Austrian subject. Upon this demand, the Emperor wrote with his own hand:—"Subordinate all the United Greek Bishops to one only." We already know that before this decision they were subject to the Archbishop of Polotsk, Lissowsky, this last of all the United Greek bishoprics only having been preserved by the Empress Catherine. It is impossible to see in the above-quoted resolution that the Unionists should not have more than one single bishopric, for the following year two new dioceses were created by Imperial order—Brest for the government of Lithuania and Minsk, and Luck for the Volhynia and other western provinces. Besides these, they possessed Polotsk. These bishoprics had been abolished by the Empress Catherine at a time when a great number of their parishioners had passed over to the Eastern Church, necessarily strengthening the Union after their re-establishment, which creed had commenced to fall into decay. Let us not forget that these dioceses had been instituted by the Popes to propagate the Union at a time when the population of these provinces was numerous enough and adhered to that faith. One might expect that such a measure as the erection

of new bishoprics would proceed from Rome, but not from the Russian Government, the more so that no petition on this head had been presented by the United Greeks, and therefore no motive for such an act existed. Glownewsy at Brest, and Lewinsky at Luck, who were fanatical Catholics in their opinions and actions, and who had held these Sees under the *régime* of Poland, were reinstated in the same dioceses. But this was not all! The Russian Government did that for Rome which for two centuries she had not dared to do for herself—they made over to the Roman Catholics complete authority over the United Greek Church—authority full and exclusive. We have seen with what caution Rome at all times veiled her secret desire for the fusion of the two rites, with what severities the Popes pretended in their Bulls to exact that the two rites should not be confounded, and that the superior United Greek hierarchy should maintain its independence of the Latin clergy down to the last days of the political existence of Poland. This fusion of the two Churches for which Rome had so long and persistently worked but dared not publicly discover, was at last realized when, owing to the badly expressed resolution of the Emperor Paul, the administration of the United Greeks was changed. “As,” says this resolution farther, “the

United Greeks are re-united partly to us and partly to the Latins, they have no independent existence." It is evident that at the time of the introduction of the union in the sixteenth century, those who had embraced it had ceased to belong to the Eastern Church, so that their independent existence was quashed by this very resolution. The superior jurisdiction of the United Greek Church passed into the Roman Catholic department, in which the people of the United Greek Confession had not even the right to be represented by the members of their religion like the Latins. Thus everything was put in practice to Romanise the United Greeks, and every act of the Government discovered its little knowledge of this object. By strengthening the ties between the Greek Union and the Latin Church, they undoubtedly acted against the principal defenders of their own belief, and without reflection or judgment; and these measures included the Basilians as well.

The Government of the Emperor Paul commenced to diminish the number of convents, which act was already projected by the Empress Catherine, the same regulations for the United Greeks extending to them, that is, they were subordinated to the United Greek bishops. But the Basilians comprehended their position with regard both to

them and to the legislature, but paid little attention to either, as everything tended to the complete fusion of the Union into Romanism, of which the Basilians were the faithful adherents. Dating from this epoch, when the Government did not think proper to make the least distinction between the Latin and United Greek Churches, the Basilians were, as we may say, recognised as a Latin Order, and the regulations for them were inserted in the Statutes published in 1798 for the Roman Catholic Church in the Empire. Thus we see by what means the Union was supported when just ready to fall. If its existence was prolonged it was not that it had stamina or vitality in itself, but by means of artificial props, which only procrastinated its sorrowful existence. In such a state of things the Latin propagand revived. Not content with the privileges that had been conceded them, the Roman clergy encroached on the domain of other confessions, and commenced to proselytise by violence not only United Greeks but also Russians. A Ukase of the year 1797 says, "We learn that in some of the Polish provinces annexed to our Empire the clergy and the landholders of the Roman Catholic confession, abusing that liberty of worship that we have accorded them, openly persecute the priests of the Russian faith,—not by

secret insinuations only, but by violent measures, separating professors of the Greek Orthodox faith from their Church, and converting them to the union." Such Ukases were published afterwards, but too late, and without result; and thus conversions to the Union and to Romanism, far from ceasing, only augmented.

CHAPTER II.

SYSTEM OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE LATIN
CLERGY UNDER THE EMPEROR ALEXANDER.

Institution of a Council to draw up regulations upon the administration of the Catholic clergy, 1801.—The Metropolitan recalled from exile is charged with the Presidency of the Ecclesiastical College.—Basis of the regulations of 1801, which endeavoured to conciliate the Canon Law with the Laws of the State; difficulties in its execution.—Definition of the estates of the Church according to the regulation of 1801.—Limited power of the Metropolitan.—Demands on the Holy See for larger powers for the bishops, 1803.—Systematic opposition of a part of the clergy to the Metropolitan.—Attributes of the Ecclesiastical College.—Institution of the General Administration of Foreign Religions, 1810.—The Russian Ministry renews its demands on Rome on the subject of the episcopal powers to the Bishops, 1808.—It demands also concessions to the Metropolitan, 1811.—Faculties accorded to Siestrencewitz, 1812.—Demand made by the Government for the elevation of Siestrencewitz and his successors to the dignity of Primate, 1815.—Rome accords the title only without faculties: refused by the Russian Government.—Negotiations on the subject of episcopal powers resulting in nothing, 1817-1820.—Views of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs upon ecclesiastical matters.—Tableau of the system of Rome traced by Italinsky, the Russian Minister at Rome, 1824.

ON his accession to the throne, the Emperor Alexander instituted, under the presidency of Beklecheff

the Procureur-General, a comité composed of the Senators Count Potocky, Wielhorsky, and Masclet, curate of the Maltese chapel, to examine the accusations which, under the preceding reign had been brought against the Metropolitan. This comité was also charged to present a report to the Government as to the condition of the Catholic Church in the empire. The Metropolitan was still in banishment upon his estates; his enemies, on the contrary, particularly the Jesuits, were on the spot in St. Petersburg to influence the inquiry. Wishing to conciliate both parties as much as possible, but more or less acted upon by the Jesuits, they took a middle course, and drew up a regulation "conformable," it was said, "as much to the principles of the Government of the empire as to the canonical law, by virtue of which the affairs of the Latin Church could be administered and decided without the intervention of any foreign power,"—that is to say of the Pope.

To amalgamate the Papal canonical law—the charter of Rome's omnipotence—with the principles of a Monarchical Government, to evade at the same time the influence of the Pope,—subordinating, as one may say, one class of citizens to two independent sovereigns without infringing the rights of either the one or the other,—was a thing impos-

sible; so that instead of the projected reconciliation of two such heterogeneous elements, the arrangement satisfied neither party. It was an undecided, confused, and obscure medium, derived from laws which at the time of their application gave rise to questions, contradictions, doubts, and dissensions extremely difficult to understand or to be acted upon.

The recall of the Metropolitan was resolved on, and the presidency of the Roman Catholic Ecclesiastical College, which had replaced the Catholic department, was confided to him; but to diminish his influence over affairs, the diocesan chapters had a right to elect every three years six members of the college, besides the two named by the college itself, and confirmed by the Senate. A very numerous part of the clergy were opposed to Siestrencewitz, and this regulation enabled them in a great degree to neutralise his views, as well as weaken the measures he deemed necessary. It also still more excited him against his enemies. This episcopal authority too, in everything relating to discipline, was considerably abridged, as much with regard to the regular as the secular clergy. The bishops were forbidden to interfere in the interior arrangements of the convents, and the Provincials of the Orders were recognised as inde-

pendent of their authority. This organisation, as we have seen, was conformable to the Papal law, but pernicious for the Church. Further, that it might still more conform to Popish institutions, the Provincials were to recognise the Generals of their Orders who resided at Rome, and who in the hierarchical ranks were the superior chiefs of their Order in every country. But the authors of these resolutions having in view the conciliation of the Papal Canon law with the laws of the empire, wisely omitted this last clause, and inserted instead,—“that the Provincials dared not act against the supreme sanction, under pain of criminal prosecution, or have any relations with the Generals of the Monastic Orders, or any other foreign authority beyond Russia.” This clause modified the Papal canonical enactments in some degree, and also abridged the complete independence of the Provincials with regard to non-episcopal interference, destroying at the same time all ecclesiastical unity in the administration. Besides the diocesan chiefs, others appear separate from the monks, as if there were also other Orders in Russia. To conciliate the opposite interests and powers, the bishops were reserved a nominal authority over the regular clergy, but this reservation was neither very profitable nor commendable. In separating the monks

from the general episcopal administration, they were, nevertheless, obliged to submit to the inspection and admonition of the bishops. The Provincials were held responsible to the ordinaries for statistical information relative to their provinces, and the bishops had the right of inspecting the monastic schools, and introducing rules on this subject, "conformable," as it is said, "to the rules." But in reality these regulations preserved to every Order their own statutes, so that the bishop had nothing to order. They could certainly accept complaints against the Provincials and examine them, but only for their personal information, as they had no right of decision, and were confined to the mere presentation of such to the college. It is plain that these prescriptions were undecided and contradictory, and infringed quite as much the canonical statutes as the laws which the empire published in favour of the Church, and which were the base of the ecclesiastical administration; that it nourished ideas of absolute independence in the minds of the monks, and in the bishops pretensions to meddle in the affairs of the Monastic Orders. These tendencies, so diametrically opposite, were based upon the same regulations, which left everything so undecided, and presented only an appearance of conciliation. With respect to

the regular clergy, the authority of the bishops was considerably weakened by the establishment of the right of patronage, that is, the nomination of priests to curacies, not by the diocesan bishops, but by the founders of churches or their descendants, who for the most part were nobles or proprietors. The amalgamation of the canon law with the laws of the empire was expressed in the following manner :—

“The College, the diocesan bishops, and the consistories, as well as all the Roman Catholic clergy, both in general and particular, shall fulfil the duties of their functions according to the rules and prescriptions of the Church, conforming strictly to all that is ordered and forbidden in the Imperial Ukases with respect to communications with any foreign ecclesiastical authority, and, as faithful subjects, to protect the rights of the Crown, the laws of the Empire, and the interests of the Government.”

It is evident that this amalgamation would not answer the end intended, as very often the interests of the Crown and the country could not be reconciled with the laws and enactments of the Latin Church,—laws promulgated for centuries by the Popes to serve their own interests. This fusion had much more the appearance of a diplomatic act

or of a treaty than a law of the state, which should narrowly mark the limits of the different powers, determine the rights and obligations of each, and serve as a basis for the solution of all doubts and difficulties that might surge up in this branch of the administration. The ecclesiastical landed estates were recognised as enjoying the same rights as the landed property of the Crown, and in case of processes were to be defended by the chapters according to the law laid down on this point. If this privilege was advantageous for the ecclesiastical proprietors on the one hand, on the other the origin of such a privilege evidently emanated from the understanding that clerical property was not considered the exclusive property of particular churches or convents, in whose name it was registered, but as an estate of the state in general, destined for the support of ecclesiastical Latin institutions. If, on the contrary, these estates had been regarded as the private properties of certain churches or religious houses, their proprietors might also treat them as private, and dispose of them without the rights which they enjoyed as protected by the laws only applicable to Crown property.

At the close of the year 1801, the Emperor confirmed the regulations for the administration of the

Latin Church, and notwithstanding the intrigues of the Jesuits, the Metropolitan was recalled from exile. On his arrival in St. Petersburg, he spoke publicly of the Jesuits thus:—"The Emperor will very soon find out how contrary it is to true policy to tolerate these unprincipled people in his empire." He resumed the direction of his own diocese as well as the functions of President of the College, but his powers to be really useful were restrained. Reconstituted in his ecclesiastical dignity, he was nevertheless despoiled of all efficacious influence. At the same time the Government enacted that, for the good of the State as well as that of the Church, the Metropolitan and the bishops should enjoy rights which should enable them to introduce order and unity into the ecclesiastical administration, declaring that the episcopal faculties transmitted by Rome to the diocesan bishops, full of clauses, conditions, and restrictions, rendered them altogether insufficient for the exercise of episcopal jurisdiction. The Ministry, therefore, on the 13th December, 1803, despatched a note to Mgr. Arezzo, containing the following demands:—"That the Archbishop of Mohilew, in his capacity of sole Metropolitan of the Roman Catholic Church in Russia, should obtain all the rights and powers which appertain to this dignity;

namely,—1st. The examination of the prelates named by the Emperor to the diocesan episcopal dignity, coadjutorial or titular; 2nd. To nominate coadjutors to the benefices resigned; 3rd. In case of necessity, to permit the union of a simple benefice to a parish, but never that of several parishes, at least without the express permission of the Government; 4th. To secularise monks or nuns who for justifiable reasons may demand it. To give the diocesan bishops, his suffragans, certain powers, in as far as compatible with his own prerogative; the Metropolitan in this case to address himself to the Ministry, which charges itself to obtain the authority of Rome; in a word, that the Metropolitan enjoy all the rights, powers, and faculties attached to his position by virtue of an imperial order of the Emperor Paul, dated April 28th, 1798, and confirmed by Pope Pius VI. The powers required for the diocesan bishops were:—1st. To dispense with the first and second degrees of affinity. 2nd. To unfrock, without restriction, priests convicted of irregularities. 3rd. To release candidates for the priesthood from religious vows made without reflection, when not actually in holy orders;—the right of the surveillance of religious houses, monks and nuns, to be confirmed as already conceded to Mgr. Sies-

trencewitz, at that time Bishop of Mohilew, by Pope Pius VI., April 6th, 1778. "Such a surveillance," it is said in this note, "is the more necessary, as the Superiors of these houses, not in any way depending on the Generals of their respective Orders at Rome, nor on any other power abroad, would, unless subject to such visitation, be absolutely independent, a liberty they could easily abuse, especially as we know that such independence has already produced disorder." 6th. The power to employ, in default of a sufficient number of secular priests, the Monks of their respective dioceses for the service of the parochial churches, without being held to pay anything for such service to the Convent from which they were taken, and without requiring the consent of the Superiors, as more than once they had recalled these monks for unworthy motives at a time when their services were most desirable. 7th. That the powers and spiritual authority of the diocesan bishops be regulated in such a manner that there be no further necessity to recur to new dispensations and explanations as to the extent of their powers.

In transmitting these demands to the ambassador of the Pope, the minister declared that the Emperor hoped they would be conceded, as so essential to the welfare of a Church non-domi-

nant, but only tolerated in Russia; adding, "that if the Holy Father does not hasten to comply with these demands with that zeal which one has a right to expect, he voluntarily sacrifices the prosperity of his Church in the Russian empire, and forces the Government to obtain, through diplomacy, that which is indispensable for the religion of which he is considered by his flock the head, and which depends only on himself."

This amalgamation of the Canon Law with the laws of the State served as a guide in all ecclesiastical measures, creating on the one hand a superior court for the administration of the Latin Church upon a basis radically opposed to the Canon Law of Rome, according to which the authority belonged to the bishops and not to the college; therefore the ecclesiastical College at Petersburg, existing until the present, has never been recognised by the Court of Rome; on the other hand, it condemned all the regular clergy to evident disorganisation, affording them grounds for refusing obedience to the diocesan bishops without the authority of Rome; whereas, under the reign of the Empress Catherine and the first years of that of Paul, they had been subordinate to the local bishops, which subordination had been even temporarily confirmed by Rome.

The Holy See made no response to the demands of the Russian Government, and in 1804 all relations between them were broken off. The Metropolitan and the bishops consequently found themselves in a position of uncertainty and irresolution with respect to the clergy of their dioceses.

As to Siestrencewitz, his influence over the general administration of the clergy was intentionally limited by the right of the dioceses to elect a number of the members of the College. A powerful part of this assembly, understanding the firm and independent character of the Metropolitan, his views as to education, and the complete freedom of all his actions from intrigues or mercenary calculations, openly opposed him, and canvassed champions to their party amongst the other members. His recent exile and disgrace, and the protection that the Jesuits accorded his enemies, inspired them with audacity in their opposition. They rarely adopted his views; scarcely ever were his decisions confirmed by the College; and naturally, in the face of such systematic contradiction, his position became almost insupportable, as well as useless for the Church. Patient for so many years, he at length raised his voice, and told the Government their true interests. In 1805 he presented Prince Lopoukin, the then Minister of Justice, a

tableau of the acts of the members of the College. They were, according to him, rather the representatives and defenders of old and abused privileges, than impartial and just judges, and in many cases they thoroughly ignored the civil laws, some of them even being completely in conversant with the Russian language, in which tongue all the affairs of the assembly were carried on. He demanded on justifiable grounds that the members of the College should not be named by election, but by imperial ukase, as had been formerly done for the Catholic department; and that their number should be diminished by half, so that instead of eight there should be but four. But such an isolated measure could hardly restore order and unity into the general administration of the dioceses; he writes:—"For in reality the college as well as the diocesan bishops, seeing the contradiction and diversity of several regulations, very often encounter insurmountable difficulties and doubts." The Metropolitan believed it possible to place the ecclesiastical discipline on a certain and solid basis, and by desire of Prince Lopoukin drew up "a project for the regulation of the Catholic clergy," founded on the principles adopted in all the ordinances published from 1773 till 1800, which meant the subordination of the monastic to the diocesan bishops,

the abolition of the right of patronage, and the recognition of the ecclesiastical estates, not as the exclusive property of a church or a convent, but as the property in general of the clergy, as mentioned in the regulation of 1798. This project was intended by Prince Lopoukin to put, if possible, an end to all disorders. In his new project, Siestrencewitz developed still more these principles. He demanded power to permit marriages within certain degrees of affinity reserved to Rome only, to absolve from vows, and to consecrate bishops without demanding the permission of the Pope every time, an authority that had been conceded to the United Greek Metropolitan at the period of the introduction of the Union, and which that prelate still possessed. He proposed also to renew the different regulations on the subject of the relations with the Holy See; to forbid the going to Rome for indulgences which are easily obtained for money, but those already received to be preserved in all their vigour. As to the administration of the ecclesiastical estates his idea was to withdraw the ecclesiastical stewards and subject them to the special direction of a commission, composed of two clerical and two lay members, confirmed by the Government. This commission should equitably divide the revenues between the clergy according to

the merits and the requirements of each, the surplus amounts to be banked to form a capital for unforeseen contingencies. In presenting this memorandum, Siestrencewitz added: "In drawing up this project, I assure you, on my honour, that I have been guided only by my desire to give peace to the Church, to re-establish order, so necessary for the welfare of the country—to put an end to anarchy—to save the estates of the Church from pillage, and to contribute by that to the prosperity of the State; in short, to fulfil my duties to God and my Sovereign. As life declines I am far from seeking for honours, prerogatives, or any personal advantages whatsoever; and this project will convince you that, instead of that, I have only in view the establishment of peace and order."

Some of the members of the College having procured a copy of the above-named project from the secretary by bribery, one of them, named Szantyr, a zealous friend of the Jesuits and an enemy of the Metropolitan, drew up a refutation, and presented it in the form of a petition to the Emperor through the medium of Prince Alexander Galitzen, who enjoyed not only the favour but the friendship of the monarch. Seeing their privileges in danger, they employed every artifice to ensure the influence of Galitzen, and they completely succeeded. In the

petition Szantyr attributed the measures proposed by Siestrencewitz to his ambition, eulogised the activity of the College, explained that Catholicism is the surest support of an autocratic government, and finished by demanding the institution of a commission to examine the acts of the Metropolitan. This intrigue resulted in an order to Prince Lopoukin by the Emperor not to confirm for the moment the project of Siestrencewitz; it was for ever abandoned, and the administration of the Latin Church continued upon the staggering basis of the conciliation of the Roman Catholic Canonical Laws with the law of the Russian empire. In reality, the one infringed the other to the manifest detriment of Church and Clergy, which required a solid hierarchical foundation, not guided by private considerations, but by considerations for the welfare of the Church.

The College reserved three branches of administration:—1st. Divorces, separation, and absolution from monastic vows. 2nd. All litigious affairs concerning the benefices, all processes between ecclesiastics, all charges, demands for indemnity of offences, the banishment of curates from their parishes by judicial sentence, &c., &c.; all these cases were only carried to the College as appeals, and could be transferred to the Senate. 3rd.

Affairs comprising complaints against the bishop, accusations concerning abuses, the dissipation of the estates and capitals of the clergy. Besides this, the College had the right to inspect all ecclesiastical institutions, but was deficient in the means necessary to fulfil this obligation: thus this college was, by preference, a judicial tribunal, and not an administrative court.

After the creation of the ministries, the affairs of the Latin clergy were divided between several departments, with which the diocesan chiefs should enter into direct communication. A central institution no longer existed, and this loss was sensibly felt when it was necessary to obtain the imperial sanction for any affair. To obviate this inconvenience and give union to the administration, a general administration for foreign sects was created in 1810; and in what related to Roman Catholics its duty was:—1st. The presentation of candidates for the episcopal dignity whose confirmation depended on the Emperor. 2nd. To confirm the provincials. 3rd. To distribute those benefices depending on the Emperor. 4th. The surveillance of seminaries and convents. 5th. The nomination of visitors. 6th. To survey the landed estates and the ecclesiastical capitals. And, 7th. To decide complaints against the bishops. Thus, a

part of the administration before reserved to the College was transferred to the General Administration, which, by virtue of its prerogatives and the object for which it was created, became veritably a superior central institution, and the representative of the Government. This bureau was the more necessary as the authority accorded to the Metropolitan and the bishops was limited. Without unity a Church cannot exist. But for how long a time did the Government remain faithful to its pretended canonical programme?

Not decided as to the subjection of the convents to the diocesan chiefs without the authority of the Holy See, it confided the superior administration of the affairs of the Latin clergy to laymen, without first addressing itself to Rome; and at the head of this council it placed Prince Alexander Galitzen, a Russian, and of course in the eyes of Rome a heretic. Siestrencewitz himself, who cannot be accused of fanaticism, was at the commencement frightened at such a step, fearing the decline of ecclesiastical authority. But this fear was soon dissipated. The General Administration did not profit by its authority to restore order in the Church, or render it useful to its congregations and to the State. Count Joseph de Maistre, the well-known writer, says:—"I infinitely honour the Prince Galitzen as an honest

man, a man of spirit, a gentleman, a man of the world, an honourable, upright and true subject of the Emperor; but one who knows as much as a child of ten years only about subjects which he ought to understand thoroughly, in order to judge for and govern us." It had not even sufficient elementary knowledge about Catholic institutions to enable it to decide on particular cases without requiring instructions from the College. Wanting a definite plan, its system, however fruitful of studies and experience, became but a simple agent of the clergy, who defended its privileges and authority; supported it in all processes, and reduced it to the condition of a court which confirmed whatever was presented to it,—a comité without any initiative, which destroyed no abuse, and organised nothing within its province, an institution commodious for the clergy, which did not hinder them in the least from remaining anti-canonical.

With this inertia of the general administration; with the authority of the Metropolitan so limited in the College; with the complete independence of the Religious Orders—the necessity of investing Siestrencewitz and the bishops with an extension of powers became more evident daily. The Government had always thought and desired to obtain it through diplomacy, as we have

already seen; but always encountered opposition the most systematic and selfish from the Court of Rome.

Relations with the Holy See were broken off in 1804, as before mentioned. In the meantime the powers conceded to Mgr. Siestrencewitz in 1803 arrived in 1808. On this occasion the Chancellor deputed Prince Kourakine, the Ambassador of Russia at Vienna, to communicate with Mgr. Severoli, the Roman Catholic Nuncio at the same court, and to try once for all to put an end to the inconveniences which resulted from such a state of things. This negotiation ended unsatisfactorily. The 27th Feb., 1811, Russia formally demanded—1st. That the Archbishop of Mohilew, in his capacity of Metropolitan of the Roman Catholic churches in Russia, obtain the concession of such rights, privileges, and powers, as are enjoyed by the Metropolitan of the United Greeks at Kiovie, particularly that of consecrating the bishops named by the Emperor, according to the Roman ritual of installing them, and of receiving the apostolic oath, and sending it, after consecration, to the Holy Father; that, to give the titles to the non-diocesan bishops, his Holiness should send him the names of twelve bishops *in partibus*, who should serve exclusively as Catholic vicar-bishops of Russia. 2nd. That the rights, privi-

leges, and powers be attached in perpetuity to the Metropolitan dignity. 3rd. That the Metropolitan have the right to secularise twelve monks, who for just and proper reasons may demand it. 4th. That the prerogatives, rights, and spiritual faculties conceded by Pope Pius VI., his ambassador, or the propagand be confirmed for twelve years more to the Metropolitan. 5th. The confirmation of the right of surveillance of the religious houses of both sexes, as conceded by Pope Pius VI., dated 6th Aug., 1778, for a specified time to the then Bishop of Mohilew. Count Stackleberg, the Russian Ambassador at Vienna, conducted these negotiations with the Nuncio at the same court, the Archbishop of Viterbo. They were successful in some things, which might be attributed to the captivity of the Pope, but this success was not as positive as might be desired. In 1812 the Metropolitan was empowered to consecrate the bishops; to inspect the monastic orders; and to administer them consistently with the rights and statutes of the fraternities. These concessions, however, were of short duration, for on the return of the Pope, in 1814, he withdrew all he had granted at the time when Rome found herself in a difficult position.

The aim of Russia in all these transactions was

to procure from Rome more enlarged powers for Siestrencewitz, transmittable to his successors, without at all implying anything derogatory to the Pope's supremacy over the Roman Catholic subjects of the Emperor. Thus in 1815 the Russian minister at Rome, Baron Tüyl, was on the 6th March charged to demand the elevation of Mgr. Siestrencewitz and his successors to the dignity of Primate, with the title of Legate of the Holy See, and his investiture with the following powers:—1st. The examination and confirmation of those of the clergy who should be named diocesan bishops, suffragans, or titularies by the Emperor, and to report them to Rome. 2nd. To install bishops transferred by the Emperor from one See to another, and to report such equally to the Holy See. 3rd. To absolve monks and nuns from vows, upon justifiable grounds. 4th. To permit, in cases of necessity, the union of simple benefices to those of a parish. 5th. The validity of marriages contracted between the first and second degrees of affinity—that is to say, with the sister of the first wife, as well as the marriage of cousins of the second degree. 6th. To absolve from spiritual relationship contracted through baptism. 7th. To absolve priests who are under spiritual interdiction. 8th. To inspect convents of both sexes

in all that concerns spiritual duties. 9th. To employ monks as curates and vicars in case of the deficiency of secular priests, and to permit them the enjoyment of the revenues of such incumbency, with permission to wear the dress of the secular clergy; and, inasmuch as those monks remain in the parishes, they shall be subject to the diocesan bishops or their administrators. 10th. To permit the secular priests to give confirmation in those churches, which owing to the great extent of the empire could not be visited by the bishops. 11th. To be enabled to invest his diocesan suffragans with such spiritual powers as he deemed necessary on particular occasions.

Rome refused to name the Metropolitan and his successors *Legati nati*, but consented to elevate him to the dignity of Primate, without any special spiritual authority, so that this distinction would be purely honorary, as the Pope refused to confirm the powers which Siestrencewitz held until then. This proposition was consequently rejected. The Russian Government then tried to obtain for him personally the title of *Legatus natus*, but the negotiations on this subject in 1816 failed. It is impossible not to remark, that in general the Foreign Ministry pursued all these questions with indifference, and that on the first objection made by Rome

they let the affair drop without further insistence. All these negotiations finished with a miserable result, the Metropolitan being only accorded the following points:—1st. The power of conferring for a term of six years ecclesiastical dignities of the second order on twelve regular priests, according to the exigency of the case, in default of secular priests. 2nd. The promise of the Pope to oblige the Superiors of the Monastic Orders existing in Russia not to hinder that their monks be called to occupy the vacant parishes in case of a scarcity of secular priests, when such shall be required by, and be subjected to, the Metropolitan. 3rd. The power to authorise that a small number of ecclesiastics of the churches in Asia be enabled to confer confirmation, conditionally that they employ the oil consecrated by the bishop, in this ceremony. 4th. Limited powers to a certain number of the same class for matrimonial dispensations.

In 1817 negotiations with Rome were renewed on the subject of the powers of the bishop, and lasted for three years; they had no definite result, and it was necessary to press the Minister for Foreign Affairs to pursue the question with more energy. The note addressed by Count Nesselrode to Prince Galitzen this year explains his views on

the subject; it says:—"The Emperor has condescended to consent to make some just and equitable changes at our request, as there has never been any intention to violate that which constitutes an affair of conscience, the inviolable sanctuary of morals and order both in private and in international life." According to principles adopted and recognised by all the world, religion—that is to say, its rites and dogmas—constitute an affair of the conscience, and should not be subject to any changes on the part of the temporal power. But Rome very often altered both the discipline and the regulation of education—the powers of the clergy and the division of ecclesiastical dignities, according to her own exigencies or as the welfare of the Church demanded it; nevertheless, the subordination of the Monastic Orders to the bishops could not be considered an affair of conscience. Be that as it may, such was the Russian diplomatic point of view—false it is true, but convenient for the diplomates of the time; as the less demanded from a foreign power the easier the diplomatic functions are fulfilled.

The same point of view continued to guide the ministry of foreign affairs. In 1821 Count Nesselrode declared to the minister of Russia at Rome, that the Emperor preferred invariable regard for

the principles of the Vatican in his general management than any deference to satisfy pretensions contrary to his Holiness; thus were the just and natural demands of the bishops and the educational department qualified. The despatch of the same minister, dated Feb. 5th, 1822, expresses but more explicitly the same idea :—"Your Excellency need not press the negotiations to the detriment of the Venerable Pontiff, *principal arbitrator and regulator in this world of the destinies of the Roman Catholic Church*. Such are the limits which His Imperial Majesty has commanded us to fix for your Excellency." Again, in 1824, the Emperor charged Prince Galitzen to inform Count Nesselrode of his desire to renew negotiations with the Court of Rome with respect to the elevation of Siestrencewitz to the rank of Primate, with all the powers belonging to this dignity. But this command was eluded, and the same year it was decided not to follow up this affair, probably in order to avoid difficulties and embarrassments to the Foreign Office. This result was the more vexatious at this period, as an honourable and upright man, Monsieur Italinsky, represented Russia at the Court of the holy Father.

M. Italinsky was perfectly well aware of the politics of Rome, and failed not to keep his own

Government *au courant* of her manœuvres and true intentions. In 1824 he presented the following memorandum of her acts for the last six years:—

“ If the unfortunate philosophical tendencies of the past century struck a blow at Religion, one cannot perceive that the present era has produced a beneficial change, as the difference between holy religion and the abuse of ecclesiastical power has become only more evident. Abuses were introduced by the Holy See at an epoch when, profiting by the ignorance of the people, the Popes increased their power and riches by violence and tyranny. Having in view only the augmentation of her own resources, Rome pushed her administration to a point which finished by a disruption, and in the midst of the horrors of the Revolution the Pope fell, without inspiring a sentiment of pity or regret. These sentiments awoke only when the memories of the iniquities of the Papacy had passed into oblivion—when the centre of the spiritual power was removed, and time and the absence of the Pope in a foreign land had softened and toned down asperities. This explains the joy with which the Catholic populations saluted his return in 1814 as an independent sovereign. Cardinal Gonsalvi, who enjoyed the unlimited confidence of Pius VII. in political affairs, perfectly understood the signification of the

regeneration of the Papal authority, and with infinite tact profited by it, comprehending very well that the stability of the throne of St. Peter could only be supported and sustained on the sole base of moderation and toleration. But this conviction, which found many adversaries amongst the members of the Conclave, did not serve this excellent Pope, and the last nine years of his existence presents an epoch worthy of pity. The actual directors of the affairs of the Vatican were actuated by blind hatred towards the system of the Cardinal, and only pulled down by fanaticism and intolerance that which he erected. They sought to regenerate for the Court the Age of Gold of Gregory VII. Such was the idea they followed."

At such an epoch the Russian Government should have insisted on the extension of the powers of the Roman Catholic Bishops in Russia, the more so as they would be independent of Rome; but it was just then that they broke off the affair. Thus the negotiations in train from the years 1801 till 1824 for the reorganisation of the Latin Church in Russia, which the Papacy ought to have desired quite as much as the non-Catholic Emperor of Russia, were abandoned, and the bishops remained as before, destitute of the means of ameliorating the condition of the clergy, who in consequence of this

disorganisation were in a very unsatisfactory position. Such is therefore the instructive result of a system of administration based for the Roman priesthood in Russia upon the pretended conciliation of the Catholic Canon Laws with the existing laws of the Empire.

CHAPTER III.

THE JESUITS UNDER THE EMPEROR ALEXANDER I.

The Emperor has no taste for Jesuitism.—Protectors of the Jesuits at St. Petersburg.—Petition presented to the Emperor by the parishioners of the Church at St. Petersburg against them, 1801.—Pension for the nobles founded by the Jesuits in the capital.—The Jesuits in the Colonies.—The Abbé Nicolle named Superior of the churches in Southern Russia, with large powers.—The Jesuits in Siberia.—They propose their services in political affairs between China and Russia.—The Order in White Russia.—The Jesuits at Astracan, Riga, and Mosdoc.—They penetrate to the Volhynia, 1811.—They free their establishments from the surveillance of the University of Wilna.—Count Maistre insinuates suspicions against the University of Wilna, and exalts the advantages of Jesuitical education, 1810.—The Jesuits pretend to civilise mankind.—Creation of the Academy of the Jesuits at Polotsk, 1812.—Its organisation and privileges.—System of Jesuitical education.—Jesuit agents abroad.—The Order demands the intercession of the Russian Government for their Fraternity in Spain, 1812.—Restoration of the Order in Europe by the Pope, 1814.—Activity of the brethren in Russia.—Their conduct during the French invasion, 1812.—Their Propagand in the Colonies.—Their conduct in Siberia.—Their proselytism in the Caucasus.—Unfortunate state of the peasants on the Jesuitical estates.—Active Propagand of the Jesuits at Moscow and St. Petersburg.—The Russian Government commences to open its eyes to their true character, 1815.—Their banishment from the two capitals, 1815.—Opinion of

Count Maistre upon this measure.—Advice to the Jesuits as to their behaviour under events.—Rôle of Count Maistre in the intrigues of the Jesuits.—Effect produced at Rome by the banishment of the Order.—Indecision of the Government as to their complete expulsion from the Empire.—Their final banishment from the country, 1820.—Their unpaid debts.—Résumé.

THE Jesuits, who, since the death of Karew in 1802 had Gruber, one of the most capable men their Order ever possessed, as their general, profited not a little by the inertia of the administration, coupled with the obstinacy of Rome and the decline of the episcopal authority, to push forward their own designs. But neither by education nor sympathy was the cultivated mind of the Emperor Alexander attracted towards them; having found the Order established in the empire, he left it there and nothing more, but was never favourably disposed towards it. On his accession to the throne he permitted the Jesuitical establishments, but at the same time opposed himself to their ulterior propagation. Their number was limited to that of the footing on which he found them, except at Polotsk; but when they were disposed to exceed the bounds assigned them, or to place themselves elsewhere, they were compelled to demand the Imperial authority to do so. The restitution of their confiscated estates, as permitted by the Emperor Paul, was countermanded; but not-

withstanding this, they did not lose courage, as they were established in St. Petersburg, and felt assured that they should find powerful protectors. Nor were they mistaken. Prince Alexander Galtzen, who even before his nomination to the post of Minister of Public Instruction, had become their greatest advocate, acted in concert with them against the Metropolitan. One of their most distinguished pupils, Count Maistre, an emigrant, afterwards in 1803 the minister of Sardinia at St. Petersburg, by his intelligence, his accomplishments, and *esprit du monde*, gained many new friends and connexions in the capital. He was not only their protector, but their guide—a sort of lay General of the Order; and a great number of the aristocracy, particularly ladies, were warm admirers of the brethren.

These priests re-organised the Church at St. Petersburg, without paying the least regard to the rules published in 1769 for this parish. They totally ignored the syndics of the administration of the estates of the Church, and disposed of them as they pleased, so that on the accession of Alexander the majority of the Catholic community of the capital petitioned His Majesty to confirm the regulations of the Empress Catherine II., 1769, to re-establish them in the possession of their church and landed

endowments, and to permit the recall of their old pastors, with whom they were well satisfied. They explained thus:—"Our discontent is raised against the Jesuits because that in their prosperity they neglect the duties they profess—have refused the sick their ordinary confessors, and permitted several to die without the Sacrament for having declined to confess to them. If we enumerate their different innovations—their omissions of ancient customs—the opposition and discontent which in a short time they have stirred up in the congregation, and which until to-day we have suffered in silence, one might fill a volume." Contrary to law, they admitted into their school, erected in connexion with their church, not only children of their own creed, but those of other confessions. Afterwards they opened a Pension for the nobles, in which several children belonging to the highest families in Russia had the misfortune to be pupils, of whom several were converted to Latinism. Speaking of this Pension, a Jesuit of Moscow wrote to one of his *confrères* at St. Petersburg:—"It is desirable that you do away with the Russian priests from the religious instruction of your pupils; these priests, in my opinion, will be always your greatest enemies. Believe me, you will never be victorious till you have discarded them entirely."

In the colonies, where, since 1800, the Jesuits were permitted to establish themselves, their number increased in ten years to thirty-two, of whom fourteen were in the south, and eighteen in those of Saratoff. Little by little, and imperceptibly, they banished the secular clergy and the monks of other Orders who filled the curacies. They did not succeed, however, in doing away with all the curates. In the south the Franciscans filled the parishes of Nicolaiew, Catherinoslaf, and Theodosia, and the Carmelites were stationed at Taganrog. To be quite independent, they enlarged their own spiritual powers, and even in their capacity of curates threw off the control of the Metropolitan, a precedent which released also all the Latin churches of the south of Russia. At the instigation of the Abbé Nicolle, the Duc de Richelieu, the Governor-General of Kherson, asked Prince Galitzen to send eight Jesuits to Odessa, and to nominate Nicolle Visitor and Superior of all the churches of Southern Russia, with extended powers, so that he should be almost independent of the Metropolitan. This petition, supported by Count Maistre, was granted; the Jesuits were sent, and Siestrencewitz was obliged, through the pressure of Galitzen, to accord very considerable powers to the Abbé. Two of these priests were stationed at Odessa, and the

others went to the colonies. Having large pecuniary resources at their disposal, they always boasted that they cost the Government nothing, but at the same time they accepted fiscal emoluments, and in progress of time so far forgot themselves as to demand from the Emperor, through their powerful protectors, that they should receive the Church of Simpheropol to be converted into a

atholic chapel. At this time the Roman Catholic population of Southern Russia numbered about six thousand souls, with the churches of Yambourg, Zeltzen, and Josephthal, all three built by the Order since 1810. They possessed also six chapels. For every five hundred parishioners there was one Jesuit, without counting the monks of other denominations. In the colonies of Saratoff there were nearly fifteen thousand Catholics, with nineteen priests, as we know; they received, besides their subsidy, sums from their parishioners; their expenses *en route* for the visitation of the curacies were defrayed, and their dwellings were built at the expense of the community, apart from which they received grants of from fifty to a hundred roods of ground.

Looking towards the East, the Jesuits succeeded in convincing Pestal, the Governor-General of Siberia, of the advantages their Order would confer

on that distant country. The Catholics of Siberia resided in the district of Nerczinsk, not far from the frontiers of Tomsk. Their number amounted to about four hundred, and they were for the most part exiled Bohemians, amongst whom were few Poles or strangers. The wives of these Catholics besides the Bohemians, were Siberians, professing the Greek faith, so that the children of these marriages were educated in the Orthodox Confession. The Dominicans officiated among these people; but the Jesuits themselves declared that they by their knowledge, their love of work, and their exemplary lives, would not only be more useful than the Dominicans to the Siberians, but even prove a benefit to the entire country. They would educate youth, and advance this benighted land in civilization. By their agricultural knowledge they could reclaim vast tracts at present useless, and develop the general resources of the country. But they demanded in advance concessions of land, in order to confirm the idea that agricultural pursuits was their principal attraction. Supporting themselves on the protection afforded by the Chinese Government, they proposed the establishment of a regular correspondence with that empire through the medium of their members residing at Peking, so that they could contribute to the political influence

of, and furnish news to, Russia, relative to her interests in that distant quarter. This was not the first time that they had proposed their services as diplomatists between China and St. Petersburg. In 1805, Count Golovin was deputed to go to Peking on a mission to open up and extend commercial relations between the two countries, relations restrained until then to one point, the city of Kiachta on the Chinese frontier; and while he was preparing and proceeding there, three Jesuits were sent on to facilitate his mission. Their services should be to take notes concerning all the persons comprising the Chinese Government, particularly those who had the greatest influence on affairs:—to procure information as to the character, habits, and weaknesses of the Emperor; to find out what objects most interested him, and when opportunities offered, to cry up the power of Russia, the immensity of her resources, the esteem which she enjoyed in Europe, and so spread abroad every report that could possibly be useful to the diplomatic mission sent to China. To afford the embassy a plausible excuse for delay in the capital, so as to see everything of interest or likely to be useful to Russia, they were charged to suggest to the Chinese Government that some demands be made on Russia which the Ambassador himself could not

accord, and that on his refusal, they should explain that these demands were beyond his power to grant, but that a courier might be despatched to St. Petersburg, whilst in the mean time Count Golovin could in Pekin await his return. These Jesuits should start for China on board a Portuguese ship at Lisbon, the Nuncio at this place being desired to hand them their passports, and forward them by every means. But instead of going to China they left for the United States. The views of the Russian Government were not realized; and who knows whether these priests did not profit by their knowledge of the intentions of the ministry to the detriment of Russia? This circumstance appears to have been forgotten, for in 1811, when Pestal demanded that the Jesuits be sent to officiate in the Siberian provinces, they were permitted to establish themselves in Siberia with fiscal privileges. At the time of their departure for this country these champions of civilisation requested only one favour from the Government, that of being permitted to proselytise, or rather convert the aborigines and Mahometans. The Emperor refused. There is no doubt that this was their true aim, as they compelled some of the statesmen surrounding the Emperor to help them to the attainment. We know that in 1802 M. Kotchoubey,

the Minister of the Interior, presented a measure to the Council of Ministers, which should authorise the Siberian Jesuits to convert the aborigines and Mahometan tribes living in the governments of Astracan, Orenbourg, and Siberia. Derjawn, then Minister of Justice, opposed this project, alleging that liberty of conscience, as existing in the empire, was enough for a religion non-dominant,—that the elevation of the Roman Catholic confession to a level with that of the one established as the religion of the State was incompatible with the dignity of the empire, and that, on the contrary, they ought themselves to send Russian missionaries to these savages, as was done by the Czar John IV., to accustom them to Russian habits, to agricultural pursuits, and to the different arts which tend to civilization. Count Roumianzow supported the opinion of Derjawn, and the petition of Kotchoubey fell to the ground.

White Russia was the centre and nest of the Jesuits. A General of their Order resided there; they had there a Noviciate for seventy pupils, and had considerable material resources at their command. Their geographical division was :—In the government of Vitebsk, they extended to the frontiers of Lithuania, but in the districts bordering on Pskow there were none to be found; they were

dispersed over the government of Mohilew, with the exception of five of its districts, in which there were none. They possessed altogether about 13,500 peasants. They established colleges at Vitebsk, Mohilew, Mscislaw, and Orsza. Until 1810 a college of theirs existed at Dunnaburg, which had been founded in 1630, by Alexander Gossewsky, a Pole. It consisted of seventy priests and a noviciate, but in 1810 it was closed because of the construction of the fortress, the priests and novices being transferred to Polotsk and Riga. Apart from the noviciate at Dunnaburg, and the Dominican school of Zabialy, there were no other Catholic establishments.

From the time of the Emperor Paul only five Jesuits had established themselves at Astracan, and two at Mosdoc. Later we find seven at Riga, protected there by the Governor-General, Marquis Pallucci. About the year 1811 the Countess Cossé established also in the same town a Roman Catholic school.

The ambition of the Jesuits was always to return to the country where they were lately so powerful—that is, to Lithuania. The riches of that district—the scope they had for their activity—a people richer, more civilized, more impressionable, all attracted them. They therefore tried hard to pass

the boundaries set them by the Emperor Alexander at his accession, which limited them to the districts where he found them. In this they were greatly assisted by Count Ilynsky, the ancient favourite of the Emperor Paul, who at all times protected them. — It was not the first time he had assisted them. Thanks to his influence, the Metropolitan had been banished in 1800. Firmly convinced that nothing could be more beneficial for the country than the Order, he in 1811 demanded authority to establish a school on his lands of Romanowo, in the Volhynia, at his own expense, and to build a church, a school-house, a pension, and a library, to support fourteen professors, and begged the Government to send him four Jesuits. The Emperor consented, and this establishment was opened, but it never attained the degree of development intended by its founder, as there were never more than seven of these priests there.

In short, it was scarcely reasonable for them to expect to spread themselves farther than they were: it would have been much wiser had they confined themselves to the localities in which they were already. Civilization, their implacable enemy, protected by an enlightened monarch, had spread rapidly through Western Russia. Since its establishment in 1803, the University of Wilna

had acquired an importance duly merited in the country, and had tended to dissipate the clouds of monastic ignorance that darkened the intellectual horizon. The monastic schools were subject to the inspection of the University, the teachers were selected by it, and the instruction and the books required were under its special superintendence. The time had arrived for the light of day to show up the Jesuitical system of education, which was equivalent to the suppression of their Order. It suffices to remember what the surveillance of their system had cost Siestrencewitz, and their indignation and fear when they found that they should have to submit their pedagogical methods to the judgment of the learned. There was no time to lose, and they hastened to defend their methods by every possible means. In the year 1810 Count Maistre, who was constituted their advocate, wrote five letters to Count Rasoumowsky upon Public Instruction in Russia, and endeavoured to prove that the University of Wilna had only taken as a pretext for the destruction of the Order the basis of "civilization upon unity of Instruction," but that the real aim was to destroy the Jesuits. He continued:—"What a sight! Monsieur Le Comte. On the one hand, grave religious scholars, who for forty years have exerted themselves for the good of

Russia—daily fulfilling their duty to the State, mindful only of their oath of allegiance to the Russian Sovereign—exalting the Russian language, which they class with the Latin, as the basis of their instruction. On the other, a Polish academy (the University of Wilna), in the drunkenness of its own language, publishing a shocking grammar of its own, and attacking the Jesuits upon their attachment to ancient customs; and in these circumstances to see the Russian Government balancing between them, with a leaning towards the Polish Academy! What is the spell that induces the Government to like them more than those who serve and try to save it?"

It is true that the University of Wilna, while developing civilisation in Western Russia, destroyed Russian nationality; but was this nationality so near to the Italian heart of Count Maistre, that in its name he could recommend the extinction of rational civilisation, and hold up to admiration the scholastic sophisms of the Jesuits who detested the dominant religion of the Empire? Their aim was to render the University suspected, and having submitted their establishments to its surveillance, to continue to inculcate principles of religious intolerance, which was the nerve of their activity. To arrive at this, they cleverly

elevated their Noviciate of Polotsk to the rank of an academy, in this manner placing their establishment on a footing with the University, and designating it as the equal of that institution, on which they could no longer depend. Farther,—the Jesuitical schools under the surveillance of the academy formed, so to speak, an *arrondissement pédagogique*, entirely independent and purely Jesuitical. The Jesuits remained faithful to their principle to form their Order *status in statu*. This was the prevailing and governing idea of Count Maistre, who deduced from sophistical reasoning that to permit the Jesuits to have an academy was an act of justice, and even of the highest policy. In the time of Poland, there had been one at Wilna, which taught at the same time two opposite systems of education (very useful to the government), one opposed to the other. “This would cost nothing,” added the Count, “to the treasury.”

When Count Maistre had duly prepared the way for executing in St. Petersburg his projects in favour of Jesuitical education, the General of the Order commenced in 1811 to take official steps towards the same object. The considerations were the same, but more detailed and developed. The Jesuits claimed all the celebrities of the time, as well as their forerunners, as their pupils, and declared that they had produced the brilliant epoch of Louis

XIV., and that with the extinction of their Order, civilization had disappeared. They reiterated that even the Protestant Universities of Germany confessed, that from this epoch the level of the sciences had sunk and decreased. Richelieu, the Cardinal, had praised their educational system in his writings. Where had they not had universities? At Vienna, Prague, Gratz, and Ingoldstadt. Never would the University of Paris have flourished, or been in such a flourishing condition, according to them, as under their direction in the time of Louis le Grand. Their very emulation had elevated science itself at the University. What success could they not expect in Russia, unless some unforeseen misfortune barred the way? If Lithuania had been annexed to Russia at the same time as White Russia, they would actually have had the direction of the University of Wilna, as the Emperor Paul had the intention of giving it to them. Such were the reasons and the pretended rights, that they advanced to place their noviciate on the same footing as the University. And while extolling their own merits they endeavoured to frighten the Government by presenting a tableau of danger arising from university education. And what did they not advance on this subject? The expense of such establishments to the Government; the immorality of the students;

their quarrels with the police, which afterwards grew into political quicksands for the legislature; foreign professors, who could consequently not inculcate in their pupils the sentiment of respect due to the Sovereign. University education, they declared, had not given many practical and satisfactory proofs of its utility; it aimed at producing the same overthrow in education that the French Revolution had produced in the Government. "We know," they said, "that during this era many constitutional changes had occurred in States, which however afterwards returned to their ancient form of government. This will also be the case with education." Side by side with this dark picture, the humble and beneficent acts of the Jesuits stand out in bold relief; they are the true civilisers of mankind, the benefactors of humanity, the scientific lamps of the universe; and they owe to Russia the preservation of their political existence. Their devotion is boundless, and this sentiment is common to their order. Though composed of different nationalities they, in entering the brotherhood lose their country, and all acquire the same spirit, the same tendencies and the same principles, that they act in common according to communal direction. Moved by these sentiments of gratitude towards Russia, they proposed to

take upon themselves the onerous and weighty charge of surveying education, and requested the erection of the Academy of Polotsk and the administration of all their schools which should be placed on the same footing as the lay schools. What should not be the result? The nobility of White Russia, grateful for such concessions, would repair to Polotsk, and this city which had lost so much by the transfer of the provincial government to Vitebsk, would rise again and Russia gain, thanks to Jesuitical education, a large number of faithful subjects.

Prince Galitzen, to whom the Jesuits again addressed themselves, accorded them his powerful protection; and in 1812 a ukase appeared upon the subject of the Academy of Polotsk, confirming its establishment, "as a signal mark of the special kindness of the Sovereign for the College of the Jesuits at Polotsk, who have rendered eminent services to education and youth." This Academy was nominally subject to the Ministry of Public Instruction, was placed beyond the limits of the jurisdiction of the University, and was administered by the General of the Order, enjoying all the privileges and rights of a university. It instructed in Theology, Philology, and a mixed faculty of Philosophy, Natural History, and Jurisprudence. It

had the power to confer scientific degrees, as well as the dignity of Doctor of Theology. Its diplomas had the same value as those of the University. The Provincial of the Order was its immediate chief, or rector, and every faculty could choose, as in the University, its own Dean. With its own typography it also had the privilege of the censorship of its own publications. Every other educational establishment of the Jesuits in the empire was subordinate to that of Polotsk. Its noviciate was transferred to the town of Pousza, in the Government of Vitebsk, between the cities of Rejitzza and Dunnaburg. The educational system of the Jesuits is too generally known to require explanation, or to detain us long over it, but we must wait a moment to glance at their own account of it. Their General himself thus explained it to Prince Galitzen:—"1st. The pupils are not permitted to write or receive letters without the preliminary censorship of the Superior of the establishment, or to have any communication whatever with persons not forming part of the Noviciate, excepting only their parents. 2nd. In the establishment itself, the pupils can only converse with the Rector and the Confessor. They are never allowed to speak privately among themselves, but are obliged to talk that every one may hear them during the recrea-

tions, and never otherwise than in the presence of the tutors. 3rd. The town of Pousza is an isolated place, where the pupils cannot possibly escape the vigilance of the tutors, or have relations with any one beyond it. 4th. During the course of study, which is two years, the pupils exclusively occupy themselves with prayer, or the reading of religious or other pious exercises." Thus, distant from all contact with the exterior world, deprived of family ties, young men destined to become Jesuits commence by forgetting that they are men, do not occupy themselves with science, and are in time penetrated with such a spirit that, in throwing aside all social interests, it makes them not men but Jesuits.

From the time of the nomination of Prince Galitzen as Minister d'Instruction Publique, the Government commenced to favour the Jesuits. The establishment of the Academy, which naturally elevated all the other scholastic establishments of the Order, was already a signal victory over the civilization then spreading through the country, and was itself a guarantee of the exceptional position of the Order in the midst of the other institutions of the empire. In 1812, Brzozowsky, their General, said to Prince Galitzen: "That which you have done for us remains eternally imprinted on the heart of every Jesuit." They had, amongst

other privileges, the right to send their correspondence post-free, and to bring from abroad everything they required without duty—a right they very often abused.

With the intention of augmenting their Society, they recruited members in foreign countries, and supported several agents in fixed posts both in France, Holland, and Germany, such as Morel, Esch, Fontaine, and others. But their principal agents were Penkler, Keller, and Prince Raczinsky, for the important affairs of their Order, and at Rome Father Angiolini. The latter engaged without ceasing in enrolling and sending novices to Russia, and obtaining from the Pope an infinity of immunities for the Jesuits of Russia, this concession authorising them to spread themselves beyond the empire. In 1804 their audacity had such a range that they tried to engage the Russian Chargé d’Affaires, Count Cassini, to support their requests as compatible with the intentions of the Emperor, and repeatedly showed him the epistles of his chief, who came to the support of their assertions. It is hardly necessary to say that the Chargé d’Affaires refused to have anything to do with them, declining on the plea that he had no instructions to interfere.

Their next attempt was to endeavour to serve as an instrument for the arrangement of the affairs of

their Order abroad; and, in 1812, Brzozowsky implored the intervention of the Emperor for their restoration in Spain, the result of which would be permission to open two houses in that country. The Emperor refused to interfere, but replied that he should not oppose the project, but that he could not co-operate in it, as the projected establishments were to be beyond the limits of his empire. This did not prevent their General from presenting a petition, through the medium of the Russian Minister at Madrid, to the Cortes, demanding their recall to Spain, with permission to open two houses, by which they would prove their utility and their activity for the defence of the Church and the Throne, as well as their devotion to the interests of education.

The most brilliant triumph of the Jesuits was the solemn and universal restoration of their Order by the Holy Father, August 7th, 1814, a restoration they had always most ardently longed and hoped for. We have seen that, in 1801, the Pope had recognised their existence in Russia, but only in Russia, and they had testified their gratitude by saying two thousand Masses for him. Owing their preservation to Russia, and to a manifest disobedience to the chief of their Church, of whom they pretended to be the most devoted servants, they

found themselves at the moment of their regeneration nearly as numerous as formerly—as if the Society had never been abolished. They consequently set to to complete themselves—to organise their establishments which had been shut, and to acquire their ancient privileges. They swore eternal gratitude to Russia for all the benefits she had conferred on them, and we shall soon have occasion to see how faithfully they kept their promises and proved their gratitude. The Bull for their restoration passed the Privy Council in 1814, a great many copies of which were printed at Polotsk, and distributed to the Roman Catholic clergy of the empire.

Thus in the fourteen years of the reign of the Emperor Alexander I. the Jesuits, without enjoying the sympathy of this monarch, nevertheless succeeded in confirming themselves in the south of Russia, in the colonies of Saratow, in the Volhynia, in penetrating into Siberia, in creating an academy, in obtaining the recognition of their Order by the Pope, and acquiring in short all those privileges which were indispensable to thier complete autonomy. Having now explained the means by which they arrived at their aim, it only remains to examine how they profited by the flourishing position of their Order, and what services they rendered the

Russian government for what it had done for them.

The dreadful year 1812, the year of the French invasion, arrived for Russia, and the Jesuits who preserved their habits of intrigue were perfectly useless, and a large body of them deserted White Russia. One hundred and seventy-four dispersed themselves in the governments of Pskow, Smolensk, Twer, Novgorod, Czeringow, and Wologda taking with them money for their support. Some of the students of Polotsk even entered the ranks of the French army, and the brethren who remained displayed no sympathy either for our troops or for the sufferings of the peasantry. One example will illustrate this. When there was an absolute want of shelter for the wounded soldiers, the staff were obliged to take the school of the Order at Polotsk, but these priests made every effort to thrust them out, declaring the absolute necessity of continuing the lessons. Such was their gratitude for past favours in the never-to-be-forgotten year of 1812. But even then they found defenders, for Prince Rostopchin, the Governor of Moscow, without doubt at the instigation of his wife, demanded Jesuits to officiate in the curacies of that government. A Jesuit wrote thus :—

I have had occasion to present myself to Prince

Rostopchin, and was favourably received by him with the promise of his special protection, which leads me to conceive the greatest hopes of him. His mind, anti-clerical, should know no other influence. His wife addressed to her husband a letter from St. Petersburg which would not have disgraced *La Reine Blanche*."

The principal work of the Jesuits was as ever the Propagand. They sowed the seeds of discord, by their conversions, between the Catholic colonists, the Lutherans, and other Christian sects to such a point that the local authorities had sometimes to interfere. They obliged their dupes, in adopting the Roman confession, to accompany this apostasy with the most humiliating maledictions on their old religion, burned their Bibles and other evangelical books, dismissed the peasants from agricultural pursuits, and by the multiplicity of the fast-days they introduced transformed them all into godly idlers, and at the same time squandered the revenues of the community, to exalt, as they said, the pomp of the Church. The result was that the Catholic population was in an economical view infinitely below the level of the Protestant Dissenters.

As to their proceedings in the distant quarter of Siberia, the Jesuits, thinking only of their own

interests, neglected the duties of the religion they professed, and left several Catholics to whom they had been called without confession or communion, without interment or the least religious instruction, Directing their activity towards proselytism under pretence of religious pursuits, they ran through the province of Trkoutsk, where there were no Catholics, tried to eclipse the poor Russian pastors, distributed their books and their holy pictures : in one word, put in play all those manœuvres for conversion for which they were famous ; baptizing the newly-born children of parents of the Greek faith, and forcing the United Greeks of the Government of Tomsk to pure Popery, establishing schools at Trkoutsk, &c. They also endeavoured to enter into correspondence with their brethren in China, certainly for the same end as that pursued in Siberia,—the propagation of their faith, without for one moment considering the political views of Russia in that empire. As to agriculture, under pretence of which they had entered the country, they never even thought of it. In 1815 the Governor-General wrote to Prince Galitzen :—“ With regard to these priests I am persuaded that they will never justify the expectations for which they received the right to reside in Siberia, and their further sojourn here cannot be of any utility to the

country." Their career in the Caucasus was analogous. At Mosdoc and in the government of the Caucasus they secretly proselytised both Russians and Protestants. Amongst others, the Jesuit Henry wrote with the presumption so habitual to the Order:—"All the Lutherans, Poles, Mahometans, Russians, and Hungarians receive me at the hospital with joy. Two Lutherans are already converted, and one occupies the position of Apostle. A Russian officer, disguised as a common soldier, examined me in every manner during eight days, and on the eighth having resumed his uniform he cried in presence of everybody, 'God be praised! at last I recognise the true faith.' The same spirit reigns amongst all the officials of the hospital. The scribes influence the Russian soldiers and attract them to me; I consent and I confess them."

In White Russia the Jesuits usually left the care of their estates to intendants (stewards), or as they styled them procureurs, and only considered the augmentation of their revenues, without disturbing themselves as to the condition of the unfortunate peasants, who for the greater part were little better used than beasts of burden. Some of them were entirely stripped of everything, and fell to the charge of the community. Several farmers on these estates were in a deplorable condition, con-

sequent on their want of cattle ; but notwithstanding the poverty of the peasantry and the unfruitful character of the soil, their estates presented some very good features. For example, of two thousand five hundred souls in the government of Mohilew, they had nineteen mills and thirty-three auberges which yielded a steady revenue. One day the Emperor himself met at Tsarko-Zelo four poor crippled tattered peasants from the estates of the Jesuits who were begging. His Majesty ordered them to be placed in an hospital, and after being cared for to be returned to their villages, defraying the expense of their journey ; at the same time he remarked, that it was certainly not conformable to the principles of Christianity to permit poor crippled peasants to beg, especially as the Order had every means of relieving them ; and that if they did not institute on their estates charitable establishments for the unfortunate peasants, their property should be placed under the tutelage of the Crown.

After having received so many benefits from the Sovereign, the Order considered themselves strong enough to open a Propagand in St. Petersburg and Moscow, directed against the aristocracy of these capitals. The French refugees, then spread over the country, ably seconded them, more especially those engaged as tutors and masters in high

families. Gradually they profited by the means at their command and seized on opportunities to persuade some to enter their Order, others to embrace their faith. We do not in this place intend to enumerate the aristocrats they numbered amongst their converts ; such would not interest our readers ; and we besides do not recognise the right to give their names. But that one may judge in what class of society they manœuvred, and how they caught them, we do not consider it superfluous to mention those who are actually named in the letters of the Jesuits themselves. These persons were their most influential converts, and as mentioned by them, our statement is consequently free from all manner of doubt.

One of the most fervent adepts of the Order was the Princess Galitzen, who for greater precaution changed her religion in Germany, where she resided from 1807 till 1809. At Vienna the Jesuit agent Penkler was her spiritual guide, and thus expressed himself on the subject in a letter to a brother Jesuit in St. Petersburg :—" This lady is a veritable treasure. She wishes me to accompany her in all the little excursions she undertakes, if my occupations afford me leisure. Later I pass all my evenings with her, which gives her much pleasure. Yesterday I went with her to Closten-

burg to assist at the fête of St. Leopold, and at the same time to adore the relics of the Saint. Yesterday we dined together at the Nuncio's, Severoli." The Princess Galitzen, on her part, converted her cousin, the Princess Shmedt, and persuaded her to become a nun. When in Russia, Princess Galitzen generally passed the summer at Alexéewka, two hundred versts from Moscow; there she assembled a circle of Jesuits, and the Abbé Surugue celebrated Mass every day.

This abbé, curé of the church of Moscow, rendered himself indispensable in several aristocratic families. He wrote thus to one of his confrères:—"The Countess Poushkin declares she will place all her children between the double doors of her room the day I shall quit her." All the Poushkin family were devoted to the Jesuits.

Prince Odoewski embraced Romanism in St. Petersburg, the Princess Dolgorouky in Holland.

But one of the most important conversions made was that by the same abbé Surugue of the Countess Rostopchin, the wife of the Governor General of Moscow. Surugue lived in the neighbourhood, and failed not to profit by his proximity to the dwelling of the countess. He wrote: "The Countess Rostopchin sends her son very often to our Church of St. Louis. The count himself comes also some-

times. You see we neglect nothing in our neighbourhood." And indeed this neighbourhood was not neglected, for soon the Abbé Surugue succeeded in converting the countess, and here are the words in which he recounts this exploit: "In spite of all my prohibitions and admonitions, Countess Rostopchin communicated the secret (her conversion) to her husband. You may imagine how he received such a communication. He exclaimed, 'You have done an infamous action.' When I visited her two days afterwards, I was quite stupefied on hearing this thoughtless conduct. I had occasion some time after that to wait upon the count; but he looked at me furiously, and turned his back on me."

The Jesuits found a considerable support in the person of Countess Tolstoy, whose husband was Grand Marshal and favourite of the Emperor Alexander. The Count Tolstoy placed great confidence in the Abbé Dailly, and was not only the constant advocate of the Jesuits with the Emperor, but to him they owed a useful recommendation to the Emperor of Austria. Brzozowsky, their General, wrote: "When the Emperors of Russia and Austria met at Olmutz at the time of the campaign of Austerlitz, the Emperor of Austria said to Count Tolstoy, 'Count, you have the Jesuits; how are

you satisfied with them?" The count, whose son Emanuel had been educated in our Institute, answered in our favour. The Emperor continued, 'Yes, I shall try to recall them to Venice, and I have already received the necessary papers from Rome, but the war prevents it.' These are the words which the count related to me when he returned to St. Petersburg. When the count left for Vienna in 1814, his wife demanded his intercession in favour of our Society with the Emperor of Austria, as I solicited." In 1815 the countess went to Rome, accompanied by her son, and, as one may well believe, they were received by the Jesuits there with empressement. Father Perrelli, their Superior, in making his report to the General of the Order, said that the young count testified the greatest satisfaction on receiving from them a portion of the relics of St. Francis Jerome.

"Conversions to our faith are very rapid," wrote Count Maistre in 1816, "and proselytism to Catholicism strikes one as much by the number of persons as by the rank they occupy in society. It is truly an admirable sight, as the most of these conversions are principally among the first orders of society." Count Maistre evidently attributed these cases to the natural charm and the truths of Catholicism, and did not doubt that the religious

movement was general all over Russia. According to his ideas there was no salvation outside of the Roman Church. We know that in 1815 Balendret, the Jesuit, in the pulpit of the Church of St. Catherine, publicly defamed all other Christian sects in order to exalt Romanism. After hearing this sermon, Prince Galitzen thus expressed himself to the Metropolitan : “ Some passages of this sermon are not only contrary to the spirit of Peace and Love which should animate all true Christianity, but even to those principles of tolerance laid down by our own Government for the empire of Russia. I do not recognise either my right or obligation to enter into an examination of the doctrine of any Church, but my duty demands that I watch over the order and tranquillity both of the Established Church and all other Confessions tolerated and protected in Russia. I therefore beg your Eminence to prohibit the Father Balendret not to make, under pain of responsibility, insinuations prejudicial to other Christian Confessions incompatible with peace and public order. If the Religion of the State does not permit us to set aside this sacred principle, much less can the Government authorise such attacks on the part of a tolerated Church, which itself enjoys full liberty of conscience. This same toleration criticised by the

Catholic priest, and which he styles the prop of all heresies separate from the Church of Rome, opened to him the door of our country, and permitted his Church to participate in the beneficent measures of the Government."

But, generally speaking, the Jesuits acted with more circumspection. "I know this country," wrote the Abbé Suruge, "and I act so as in no way to compromise the affairs of religion which might possibly lead to the banishment of our Order. Therefore I never display too much zeal; I confine myself to directing, and it always turns out that the person guided in this way arrives at the desired point." The conclusion of his remarks unfolds the inventive spirit of these people, and is worthy of examination, as containing some curious details. He writes:—"Of all my religious duties, it is not Confession which is the most difficult. I hear my people secretly; but it is the Communion. I can confess during the promenade, or in an open saloon, without exciting the least suspicion; but in administering the Sacrament I expose myself to much danger. Permit me to inform you of an invention of mine with regard to this ceremony, and give me your advice upon it. I intend having a small silver box made, which should contain the ciboire in small quantity: afterwards I shall detail

this miniature chalice, and how commodiously it can be carried the evening before into the apartment of the person desiring to communicate, so that he can himself take it in the morning after prayers. By this means all the inconveniences attending secret Communion will be done away with."

The solemn re-establishment of the Order by the Pope in 1814 rendered the Jesuits more audacious. Dating from this epoch, they commenced to consider everything as possible, and it is to this drunkenness of success that we may attribute the thoughtless attack of Balendret, which had for the Fraternity such unfortunate consequences.

The fact that the reprimand of Father Balendret was not addressed to the General of the Order by Prince Galitzen, but to the Metropolitan, whose authority the Jesuits discarded, proved that the Government had changed its opinion of these priests, nor indeed could it voluntarily close its eyes to their acts. It was incontrovertible that in the colonies of Saratoff and the South they had attracted the Lutherans to Romanism by the deepest intrigues; that in Siberia they baptized the Orthodox Russians, and that in the capital itself they converted individuals of the best families. As to White Russia, what did they not do? We shall presently see how they acted towards the

United Greeks. Certainly such activity could not but be detrimental to the welfare of the empire, where the majority of the population belonged to the Greek Creed. From this time people began to watch the Jesuits. Their old protector, Prince Galitzen, was exasperated at their acts, and even frightened at the extent of their Propagand. The Jesuits knew this, but they counted too much on their *savoir faire* to notice the stroke about to fall on them, although they knew that their Order was in danger in Russia. In 1815 Brzozowsky wrote:—"Here the enemy has raised a tempest against us, but I trust in God it will pass."

Under these circumstances a discovery came to light, that the young nephew of the Minister of Instruction, Prince Alexander Galitzen, had been converted by them; and this was told the Emperor. The Jesuits, frightened, declared that they had no participation in it; that, on the contrary, they did everything to prevent it, and that the young man had been converted by a miracle. They said that he had found a *Latin Breviary* in a stove which had there been forgotten by a Jesuit tutor; at the same time the General of the Order made a report to the Pope, through the medium of Cardinal Litta, of what had happened, and addressed letters to persons, his adepts, residing in the different

towns of Russia, who could be useful to the cause, such as the Prince of Wurtemberg, to Count Iljinski, and to several members of the aristocracy in Moscow. Count Iljinski, their ancient protector, then Governor of the Volhynia, hastened to their succour, and many other friends took the same steps, agitating and intriguing, but too late to avert the stroke with which they were fated to fall.

On the 16th December, 1815, an Imperial ukase banished the Jesuits of St. Petersburg, and forbid them the *entrée* of either of the capitals, and on the 20th of the same month the decree of the Senate appeared. In this ukase, drawn up by Admiral Shishkoff, we read the following remarkable words:—"Forcing a man to be unfaithful to his creed, to the faith of his forefathers, destroying in his breast charity towards his co-religionists and his fellow citizens—separating him from patriotism, sowing seeds of discord and hatred in families, banishing brother from brother, the son from the father, and the daughter from the mother, scattering disunion among the children of one faith is this the peaceful will and love of God, and of His only Son Christ, who died for us that we should live together in love and tranquillity?"

On the 16th, the Governor-General Wiazmitinoff arrested the Jesuits in their house, placed sentinels in the court, in the corridors, and at the doors of their chambers. We may imagine the fright and the indignation of their adepts. Count Maistre exclaimed: "What has the Catholic Church of St. Petersburg done?" He was uneasy as to whether they would be permitted their pelisses, and if several of them could support the journey. But this anxiety was unnecessary. They all received their fur paletots, their warm boots and winterdresses, and in the night of the 22nd and 23rd of December they left St. Petersburg and happily arrived at Polotsk. The Institute near the Church of St. Catherine, in St. Petersburg, passed into the hands of the Minister of Instruction, and the Jesuits were replaced in the church not by secular priests, but by the Dominicans, to the great joy of Count Maistre; as all the monastic Orders, and this one in particular, were more given to proselytism than the secular clergy.

It is worthy of remark that Count Maistre himself confessed that the Jesuits had been too zealous, too hasty, and too imprudent: that so noble a work required a chief with the head of a Gruber or an Aquiviva; and he attributed the decay of the Order to the fact that it was composed principally of Poles. "The Polish nation," he added, "has un-

fortunately degenerated." But a sensible man like the Count had long foreseen that the Russian government would not long tolerate the Jesuits. "Every prince," he said, "defends his religion against foreign aggression, nothing is more natural, and the Emperor of Russia fears proselytism" (by the Jesuits). In another place he avows that had the Order come to Russia under the guise of angels they would have been banished all the same, and the Government would only have acted, in a political sense, on justifiable grounds.

He consoled them, however, by declaring that not only their partisans but their enemies cried on hearing of their proselytism and its consequences: "It is a battalion banished on account of its valour." "We are planted like the grand sapins of the Alps, which arrest avalanches. If uprooted, in the twinkling of an eye the whole scene is changed. So with the Jesuits in respect to the Russian Church," he wrote. He insinuated to them that they should by no means display their discontent. He counselled them never to say a harsh word concerning their treatment, either in Russia or abroad, or anything hurtful to the government;—that at the contrary they should praise the Emperor on every opportunity, but with moderation, that it should not be looked upon as flattery. This

advice was prudent and adroit, and was followed point by point. Count Maistre himself set the example. He was accused of some of the principal conversions in St. Petersburg, and the Emperor desired one of his ministers to tell him that he knew it. These accusations were well founded. He himself directed the work and proselytised ; served as the secret agent of Rome, to whom he communicated, by means of ecclesiastics with whom he corresponded, all the measures of the government for the Catholic Church in the empire ; approved and disapproved, and watched the priesthood. Soon after this he left Russia, as these circumstances proved that his position as minister of the king of Sardinia was altogether false.

The Russian government had the politeness to explain to Rome the reasons for the expulsion of the Order. This mark of attention produced the best effect, and the news was received with much less astonishment than might have been expected. In truth, though the warm partisans of the Papacy, they were the enemies of the other fraternities, and had themselves many opponents among them, several cardinals and other influential persons being of the opposite party. It was an understood fact that they were wrong ; one party acknowledging that they had behaved ungratefully to a government

which had loaded them with benefits, the other confessing that they had acted with imprudent zeal, and had been exceedingly stupid.

But their banishment from the Russian capitals was only a half measure which should put an end to the Propagand ; elsewhere they continued to act as before, radiating so to speak, from their centre of Polotsk throughout White Russia. Discontented and soured, they became more dangerous ; their experience taught them circumspection and dissimulation. They made use of their time to destroy every line of their correspondence and their activity in the interior, and knowing that they should not long enjoy their estates, they ruined them ; sold their books and every object which they could not carry with them. The Government had not, however, decided to expel them beyond the frontiers, supposing that in so doing several curacies would remain without incumbents ; but these apprehensions were groundless, as four years later, when they were definitely expelled from Russia, they were immediately replaced by other priests.

It appears that the principal reason which induced this half measure, was the indecision of the Government to abolish them at one stroke, notwithstanding that for the empire they were hurtful, and that their sojourn in the country clouded the

horizon of the dominant Church. But such a step was so natural and so reasonable, that both they and their partisans expected it; for the very same day on which the ukase that banished them, appeared, Count Maistre wrote that he had been informed that the proscription would extend to the entire Order; and in 1816 those in South Russia sold their estates, foreseeing their departure. The arrival of other priests to replace them only postponed the intention to proceed against them with severity. In White Russia preparatory measures had been taken in 1816 for their banishment; the 6th September of the same year the Prince of Wurtemberg, then Governor-General, issued the following commands to the Governors of Mohilew and Vitebsk: 1st. To take precautions that the foreign priests, who should arrive ere long, should not communicate their destination to any one, and so spread the report that they were going into the interior provinces of the empire. 2nd. To charge the police not to be indiscreet, and to hide from their officials the true destination of the travellers. 3rd. To replace simultaneously at Polotsk, Pousza, and Vitebsk the Jesuitical curates by the others on the same day. 4th. To inform the General of their Order of their banishment from the empire, and to see them accompanied to the frontiers, by

the police. 5th. To seal up their treasury, their archives, their cabinet of physique, the library, the office of the administration of their estates, and in the churches to forward the utensils and general articles in use to the newly arrived priests in presence of the syndics. 6th. To furnish them with proper dresses for the journey, with sufficient funds for their travelling expenses. 7th. To place the schools at Polotsk and Vitebsk under the temporary charge of the newly arrived priests, or to the Dominicans, or under the surveillance of the gymnase of Vitebsk, or others, as selected by the governors of the provinces.

In short, the police for the Jesuits were better organized than that of the Governor-General; the brethren were perfectly aware of the proceedings against them, and made ready for the result by selling everything non-portable; but it is incomprehensible how or why the Government postponed their expulsion for four years—the banishment of other foreigners did not take so long a time. This very indecision induced them to hope that they might ultimately remain. They feigned to accept the blow which had fallen on them with hypocritical humility as innocent victims; at least the General of the Order called them so in a letter addressed to the Emperor, in which he declared that His

Majesty had not more submissive or faithful subjects. That he had always advised his brethren not to proselytise persons of the Greek rite, but that he was absolutely ignorant as to whether any one of them had broken this rule. In 1818, when the Emperor passed through Orcha, Brzozowski, not daring to present himself personally, forwarded a petition through the rector of the college, reiterating the assurance of the innocence and the devotion of the Jesuits, and praying that the whole Order might not be punished for the faults of the few. Brzozowski still counted upon Prince Galitzen, supporting himself upon a pretended and secret tie between them.

But they never recovered their former position in the opinion of the Emperor, nor did they on their side ever change their plan of action. In White Russia they baptized some Samogitian soldiers of the 14th Infantry then lying in the military hospital. They tended them, pretending that they were taking care of soldiers of the Roman faith, and then converted them. When aware of their intrigues the Government took precautionary steps. At the close of 1861 all scientific diplomas by the academy of Polotsk were suppressed, excepting only theology, which was permitted as preparing young men for ecclesiastical functions ; and the year

following a ukase appeared which only licensed the entry into the academy and the Jesuitical schools of young men of the Catholic religion, sending those of other confessions back to their parents.

Having temporised for four years, the Government at last began to think that the Jesuits might with advantage be replaced by a national clergy, and decided to banish them from Russia definitely; and the 13th March, 1820, the ukase was signed, by which they were banished under a special clause that never under any pretext should they re-enter the empire. Those among them who had no curacies and did not hold official positions in the administration of the estates, immediately quitted the country. The others having realized their properties, followed upon the arrival of the priests who were to replace them. An exception was made as to those who had not yet been consecrated priests, or who preferred, instead of leaving, to join other Orders; but the name of Jesuit was suppressed and they were obliged to renounce the privileges of this society. The ministry of finance undertook the management of their estates, localised under the title of *Secondes propriétés ex-Jésuites*, to distinguish them from the estates confiscated by the Polish Government in 1773 at the time of the abolition of the Order. The re-

venues of these estates were destined to augment the endowments of the Latin clergy and to defray charitable demands, and instructions were specially drawn up for their administration. The academy of Polotsk and their schools were closed, but an institute was established, a sort of Lycée, to replace the academy, and was confided to the superintendence of the Piores. Schools for lay pupils were founded in the four principal houses of the Jesuits, and were placed under the surveillance of monks of different fraternities. That of Polotsk was confided to the Piores, Vitebsk to the Basiliens, Orsha to the Dominicans, and Mscizlaw to the Bernardines. A sum of 52,000 rubles revenue, arising from the estates of the Jesuits, was allotted for the support of these institutions.

Instructions were issued by the Metropolitan, on his side, as to how the Jesuitical curacies should be refilled, and he received from the outgoing curates the properties belonging to the Church. The Governor of Vitebsk was charged to see personally as to the departure of the priests from their principal centre, Polotsk. The Jesuits, having for a long time anticipated their expulsion, had destroyed all documents and papers which might possibly injure them, and sold all the rare editions of the works in their

valuable library for a few copecks the volume, so that nothing was found in their cells but the calcined remains of their property. The police helped them in this work of destruction. They distributed their books ; and the library was pillaged for three days, the tableaux were demolished, their scientific instruments and other things were sold, not excepting their wardrobes, at a low price ; their estates were leased to people who could present no guarantee, who only took these lands in hopes of speedily making a fortune. Of ready cash, none was found. In fact the abuses which accompanied the receipt of the estates would appear incredible, if indubitable evidence did not confirm their truth.

Their exit cost the Government for outfit and travelling expenses over 200,000 rubles. Their departure commencing in April lasted till June, when two hundred and twenty-three had already passed the frontier at Radziwillow, some going to Austria, but the greatest number to Rome, and other Italian towns, where in the Sabine they purchased an estate for 45,000 crowns. The rest of them, to the number of eighty-five, left Russia in the course of the following year, and twenty-three remained in the country, having quitted the Order and returning to their original condition.

It was only after their expulsion that the acts of

the Jesuits began to be found out by the public. Notwithstanding the large revenues of the Church of St. Catherine at Petersburg, and the houses, shops, and cellars situated in the Nevsky Prospect (the most beautiful quarter of the city) which belonged to them;—notwithstanding the legacies left them, and that they possessed forty thousand peasants, they left debts behind them of more than four hundred thousand roubles, half of which the Government took upon itself to discharge. Their peasantry in White Russia were entirely ruined—they had neither bread to eat nor corn to sow their fields. All their resources had been devoted to the Propagand, so that the Ecclesiastical College declined to recognise as curacies eleven of their churches, as they were placed in situations where there were scarcely any Catholics, and where two, three, or four, even one family, formed all the parish. These churches had been built exclusively for the Propagand amongst other confessions, and not for the requirements of a Catholic population, and having no parishes were kept up at their expense, debts being contracted for this purpose when funds failed them.

Thus for half a century the Jesuits had lived peaceably in Russia. The Empress Catherine only had preserved their Order when abolished,

had accorded them privileges, immunities, and protection; and how had they returned or valued these favours? In a political point of view they alienated White Russia from the rest of the empire after having Romanised its populations. Under them as police agents—their principal use in the eyes of the Government—and the purposes for which it preserved them, they were altogether useless, as in the other Polish provinces and in Lithuania, afterwards united to Russia, there was more order than in White Russia where they were established. In an educational point of view, notwithstanding their capacity and the knowledge of some of the members, they were a positive nuisance, using instruction only as a trap for conversions; and with respect to religion they were the sworn enemies of the Orthodox faith as of all others outside the pale of their own Church. They ruined the estates given for the maintenance of the priesthood, oppressed the peasants, sowed discord, formed intrigues, shook off episcopal authority so indispensable to the welfare of the Church; and when Russia, their benefactress, found herself exposed to the inimical invasion of the years 1812-13 they cowardly fled, or what was worse, entered the ranks of the invader. Respect for morality does not permit us to publish here their unchristian and

unnatural behaviour towards their own *confrères* or the ignoble vices common to their schools ; but we feel constrained to state that if any member of this Society suspect the veracity of our assertion, we shall be compelled to present to the public irrefragible proofs of the vile actions committed by the Jesuits. Happily for Russia this Order, the enemy to all true civilization, and to other Christian confessions, and even to Catholicism, was for the the third time expelled, and, for the future good of the country, we hope they may never return. When the Pope abolished, Catherine preserved them, and when the Order was restored by the Holy Father, it was banished by the Government of the Emperor Alexander I., who in his administration of the Latin Church in his empire constantly pursued the idea of acting, as far as possible, conformably to the rules and regulations as well as the negotiations with Rome. This same Government banished the Jesuits without informing the Quirinal. We are far from considering, on our part, this system as necessary, but we cannot forbear quoting this circumstance as a new proof of the utter impossibility of reconciling, upon stable grounds, in the discipline of the clergy, the Roman Catholic Canon Law with the Laws of the State.

CHAPTER IV.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE CLERGY FROM THE EXPULSION OF THE JESUITS. STATE OF THE SECULAR CLERGY UNDER THE EMPEROR ALEXANDER I.

Difficult position of the Metropolitan.—Part which he took in the Bible Society.—Disdain of the Holy See towards Sies-trenczewitz.—The General Administration of Religion united to the Ministry of Public Instruction, 1817.—Monsieur A. Tourgueneff director of the Department des Cultes.—This Department again separated from the Ministry of Instruction, 1823.—Diocesan Bishops.—The newly acquired Provinces of Bialostok, Tarnopol, and Bessarabia united to the Metropolitan Diocese, 1815-26.—State of the Secular Clergy.—Capitulary Clergy.—Chapter of Wilna.—Chapter of Luck.—Chapter of Mohilew.—Chapter of Kamience.—Capitulary dignities reserved to the Noblesse.—Beneficees of the Members of the Chapter.—The Members of the Chapter decline the obligation imposed by Law to make theological studies.—The Capitulary Clergy of no real utility to the Church.—The Lower Clergy.—Urgent want of Seminaries.—Projects of Sies-trenczewitz.—State of the Seminaries.—Their support.—Their plan of Study.—Creation of the Principal Seminary of Wilna after the plan of Prince Czartorycky and M. Czacki, 1803.—Animosity of the greater part of the Clergy against the principal Seminary.—Its efficient services.—The Right of Patronage exposed.—Sorrowful condition of the Lower Clergy.—The Clergy do nothing for education (popular).—Czacki charges himself with it in the Volhynia, 1803.—Example of Czacki followed in the diocese of Kamience.—Regulations

for the Parish Schools drawn up by Czacky, 1807.—The Clergy obstinately oppose themselves to the Government.—The Government obliged to come to the succour of the Clergy for the support of the parishes.—Necessity of bringing priests from abroad.

UNTIL 1816 the Jesuits, enjoying the favour of Prince Galitzen,* greatly influenced the affairs of the Roman Catholic Church in Russia, and the Metropolitan never regained his ancient importance in the hierarchy; he was very rarely consulted, and in few cases was his advice followed. The members of the College continually opposed him, even to an immoderate and hurtful degree, and, notwithstanding the dignity of Metropolitan, he had little control over the dioceses. Indeed, he could hardly expect the favour of the Holy Father, as he advocated the Bible Society. This society had for its aim the distribution of Holy Scripture in the national languages—a thing never tolerated by Rome—which, after the Congress of Vienna, counted among its members some of the most remarkable of the Latin clergy. Prince Joseph Guedroje, bishop of Samogitia, himself translated it into Samogitian, and printed it at his own expense. Mackiewicz, bishop of Kamience; Posniak, administrator of the bishopric of Minsk; the prelate Caminsky, and many others, were members of this Society. It is pretended that the Pope ad-

dressed a brief to Siestrencewitz, in which he forbade him taking part in this Society, but that he paid no attention to it, and continued to assist at their sittings. We have found no trace of this document, and have been positively assured that it never existed.

One of the compatriots of Siestrencewitz, Count Leon Polocky, son of the senator Séverin, carried despatches to Rome in 1817, and contributed not a little to augment the discontent of the Pope against the Metropolitan, accusing him of disobedience to the Holy See, of doing away with the Canon laws, of opposition to the establishment of a Nuncio in Russia, and taking an active part in the Bible Society. Cardinal Gonsalvi told this to a Pole in 1819, who related it to Siestrencewitz. It was then that he addressed a letter to the Pope, in which, refuting these accusations, he explained that he had never received any order to retire from the Bible Society, but that he had read this pretended order in the "Gazette de Hambourg," of which of course he could not take notice, and that the Count Séverin Polocky, being his enemy, had calumniated him, that he had done him much injury, and that it would be much better if he would not carry these dissensions beyond the frontier.

This politeness, however, was thrown away on the Holy See, and the Court of Rome continued to show dislike to the Metropolitan; but, after all, this was only natural, as at this epoch religious fanaticism actuated every act of the Pope.

In 1817 the General Administration of Religion was united to that of Public Instruction, under the direction of Prince Galitzen. The regulations concerning the Latin Church were more developed, without notably changing their groundwork. Before this time the Ministry of Public Worship enjoyed an authority as extended as can be useful to Church or State, but of which it profited little. The new organisation reserved the right of confirming the members of the College, compatible with the supreme sanction, as well as the distribution of different recompenses to the clergy, etc.; but all these prerogatives remained as in past days, only a simple formality. This creation was not really the construction of a new ministerial department, but was that experience acquired by the Government in the affairs of the Jesuits,—an experience which showed itself in more circumspection than had been displayed before. The year 1820 shows us this department paying greater consideration to the requirements of the clergy as well as to the interests of the State; occupying itself more

with the care of ecclesiastical education ; adjusting the administration of the endowments of the Church, etc. Its director was Alexander Tourgueneff, a man of enlightened and remarkable mind, profoundly versed in affairs, scrutinising the true destination and aim of institutions, analysing the motives of certain actions, and discovering many things which until then had received no attention. This department was afterwards separated from that of Public Instruction in 1823, and confided to Admiral Shishkoff. It then took quite another character ; but as the principal projects of the Admiral were only realized under the following reign, it is not necessary that they enter the category of this *Exposé*. Unfortunately it was no longer possible to profit by the advice and concurrence of the worthy Metropolitan. Siestrencewitz had already attained a great age ; he was over seventy years old, his powers were decayed, and he was but the relic of what he had been. Abandoned entirely to the influence of the Dominicans, whom he protected while he could, he no longer troubled himself about the administration of the clergy. *

Of five bishops, three lived during the whole reign of the Emperor Alexander I.—Ciecichewsky, bishop of Luck ; Prince Joseph Guedroje of Samogitia, and Dederko of Minsk, but this latter was

deposed in 1816. Mackiewicz administered this diocese for a long time—from 1809 to 1842, in which year he died. The most remarkable of all these was, without doubt, Ciecichewsky. He was known for his rigid life, his religious zeal; but he had too great a *penchant* for Jesuitism. The Jesuits therefore treated him with great regard. He was an excellent administrator, but a fanatical and obstinate man. Dederko and Prince Guedroje united religious enthusiasm to political fanaticism. The first betrayed the Russian Government in 1812 and the latter in 1830.

The delimitation of the dioceses as arranged under the Emperor Paul was preserved, only that to some of them were annexed the newly acquired provinces; for example, Russia by the treaty of Tilsit obtained the province of Bialostock, which contained more than a hundred thousand inhabitants, fifty parish churches, and five convents, one of which belonged to the Sisters of Charity. The priesthood of this province were immediately subordinated to the Metropolitan, who managed it through an Archdeacon. For its administration it would have been more convenient to have united it to the diocese of Wilna, of which it formerly formed a division. This had been solicited by the Metropolitan, but the negotiations on the subject

of the Archbishopric to which this question bore relation having been prolonged, this annexation could not then be effected. In 1809 the province of Tarnopol, the neighbour of Kamience-Podolsk, with twenty-nine parish churches, was also subordinated to the Metropolitan. By the treaty of Vienna this country was ceded to Austria, and now forms a part of Galicia. In 1812 by the treaty of Bucharest, Russia acquired Bessarabia, and the clergy of this province also depended on the Metropolitan See, although Siestrencewitz proposed its annexation to the neighbouring bishopric of Kamience. In 1818 only the towns of Kichineff and Chotine were joined for ecclesiastical administration to Kamience, a Visitor being appointed by the Metropolitan for the southern part of this province. In 1824, at the request of Bishop Mackiewicz, the clergy of Bessarabia were subordinated to him.

In 1815 Bishop Strognowsky, administrator of the diocese of Wilna, being dead, it was given to the Metropolitan as administrator. He preserved at the same time the Archbishopric of Mohilew and all the churches of the empire depending on the Metropolitan Chair; but as he was obliged to reside at St. Petersburg he was represented in these places by Bishop Pouzyna, Suffragan of Wilna, who received his instructions. This union

of the two dioceses could only be temporary, as the intention of the Government was to transfer the Metropolitan Chair to Wilna, and to nominate another diocesan bishop to Mohilew. The negotiations on this subject were commenced in 1815 with Rome. The idea of making Wilna the principal centre of the ecclesiastical administration of the empire would have been strange on the part of the Russian Government, as Wilna was the *Rome* of the Polish provinces, the cradle of Catholicism in these countries, and she still preserved the recent *souvenir* of the omnipotence of the Latin priesthood. The Government had another project—the elevation of Siestrencewitz to the dignity of Primate, with full powers attached; and it had already, as we have seen, been demanded of Rome, but the Pope not being inclined to such a concession, the idea of transferring the Metropolitan seat to Wilna fell to the ground, and he remained administrator of the bishopric of Wilna, although in 1821 Prince Galitzen proposed to free him, seeing his advanced age, from this office, but he declined it, and preserved his authority there until his death.

We shall now pass to the diocesan clergy. In all well organised churches the number of the clergy corresponds to the wants of the parishioners

for whom they perform various religious offices. If the priests be not sufficiently numerous, the parishioners suffer, as all pulpits cannot be filled at the same time. But in revenge a too numerous clergy indicate the decay of a church, as superfluous ecclesiastics living in idleness yet enjoying the revenues of their charges, become demoralised and are an object of scandal to the people, of envy and disdain to the active members of their class, and in default of respect for the servants of the Church, the Church itself suffers. Looking at the Latin clergy from this point of view, at the epoch we now study, we arrive at the conclusion that their constant tendency to multiply beyond the limits of effective necessity, engendered vices hurtful to the ecclesiastic dignity, and was consequently a shame to religion. During the time of Poland, when the authority of the clergy extended over the tribunals and lay affairs, they preserved the administrations called Surrogates, which separated them from the jurisdictional departments, and were independent of the Consistories with which they should legally act. In some dioceses there was a crowd of priests and dignitaries arbitrarily instituted, and without the least necessity, under the name of Surrogates, etc. In 1804 the College directed its attention towards this abuse, and

abolished all these administrations and functions, which were not to be established in future.

The evil of such clerical multiplicity especially pervaded the ranks of the rich and notable clergy, that is, of those amongst them who occupied elevated positions, had benefices at their disposal, and were, in short, the capitulary or synodical dignitaries.

The canons and prelates became, according to the Latin law, a superior local diocesan administration, that is to say, the consistory, and participating in the episcopal offices ; it follows that their number ought to have been limited, inasmuch as the expense of their support was considerable, especially as superfluity amongst the clergy was detrimental to the revenues of the parish priests who should have received the moneys of the benefices, which, under the circumstances, were appropriated by the chapters. We see by the calculation and the documents relating to them how the revenues of these episcopal councils were augmented.

The Chapter of Wilna remained quite as numerous as it had been under Polish domination, while the ancient See itself was much less extended, a great part of it having passed to the newly-constituted Diocese of Mohilew, and another quarter forming the new Bishopric of Minsk. All the churches beyond the Nieman passed to Prussia.

There were yet two other chapters or collegiates in this diocese, Courland and Brest. In the diocese of Luck there was also two collegiates, Zitomir and Olyca, independent of the local chapter. In Mohilew there were forty-four capitulary dignities, twelve conformably to the Act which instituted the See, twelve canons of Kiew, twelve canons of Inflandt, and two of Smolensk: they were the remains of the small dioceses which had of old existed in Poland,—those of Kiew, Inflandt, and Smolensk,—and which had never been recognised by the Russian Government. These pretended Sees had been for a long time abolished or annexed to others; and their synodal clergy of episcopal dignities no longer existing, remained useless and idle, but with the benefices. They were styled Titulary Canons, and had no legal right to assemble, take part in discussions, or vote. This abuse was particularly noticeable in Kamience, the half of whose members carried the title of canons. These disorders prove that which the government did not know, upon what a base, and in what number, these diocesan chapters existed. Two of them only had been positively constituted by the Pope's legates, Arkeli and Lissa, for the Dioceses of White Russia and of Minsk, instituted under the reign of the Empress Catherine and of Paul. The others were never

confirmed, and what is more, some of them were even instituted and endowed without the consent of Rome, by order of the local bishops ; as, for example, the Chapter of Kamience.

In 1806 the Emperor notified to the Metropolitan that in the dioceses where there was no chapter they should not name more Titulary Canons ; but four years later it was again permitted to support in the See of Mohilew twelve canons of Kiew, titular, and to elect from amongst them the assessors for the consistory and the college. In 1819 the canons acquired the right of electing the other members of the chapter. How were these chapters composed ? Why were they multiplied ? What did they do ? In 1825 Bishop Mackiewicz explains this in detail, and we cannot do better than give the result of this bishop's experience. By the Chapter of Kamience one can judge very well of the others, as the traits are precisely similar.

In all the diocese of Kamience, there were less than one hundred churches, and its chapter was composed of seven prelates, fourteen canons, with thirty-eight canons considered as titular (honorary), in all fifty-nine persons. Independent of these there were also coadjutors. The rules of the chapter were published in 1721 by the Bishop Gosius, and were not confirmed either by the then

existing Polish Government or by Rome. Some of the members were named by Gosius, others by the bishop. Indeed there were many such capitulary dignities, the nomination to which belonged to persons who had only founded some benefice, but who were entire strangers to the diocesan administration. For example, the nomination to the place of Prelate *Probosc* devolved on the family Gnumezky, and the magistrate of the city of Kamience could appoint to the post of Canon Penitenciaire.

The bishop could augment the number of canons in the following cases:—1st. In memory of his consecration as bishop: 2nd. To spread vaccination with greater success as commanded by the government, which had recommended vaccination committees of the deputies of the most respectable clergy, to further this object: 3rd. To accompany the bishop in his diocesan visitations and inspections, for his convenience, and the greater solemnity of the service. This is quite enough to furnish us with a tableau of the effective utility of such a priesthood.

If the chapters had much general analogy between them, they were not, however, similarly organised; on the contrary, under many relations there existed notable differences. According to the Constitution of the Crown in 1550, it was enacted that only Polish gentlemen could be named

prelates and canons; and this law was extended in 1639 to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and was afterwards followed in nearly all the dioceses, besides being inserted in the Act constituting the Chapter of Mohilew in 1783. In that for Minsk in 1798, it was specially ordained that only gentlemen originally from the Government of Minsk could be selected as prelates and canons of that diocese. At the same time the Chapter of Kamience was composed one half of nobles,* the other half non-noble.

A benefice was generally conferred for life; but in this See the endowments were administered in common, and the revenues were divided into equal parts between the members of the chapter. Wilna had the richest benefices, every one of which had at least upwards of five hundred peasants and large capitals. In the other chapters the benefices were poorer, that is, they returned less; and in the new dioceses of Mohilew and Minsk these benefices were occupied by the secular clergy, as they had not others. In the Bishoprics of Luck, Kamience, Mohilew, Samogitia, and Minsk, there were, honorary canons created either by custom or at the pleasure of the bishops, the only exception being that of Wilna, where there were none, assuredly for the reason that the number of capitular dignities far surpassed the true requirements of the

See. The diocesan authority was strongly disposed to multiply this useless class, to give *éclat* to the episcopal dignity in the eyes of the people. Indeed they actually did so, notwithstanding an Act by Archbishop Litta, forbidding the further nomination of canons in the diocese; they introduced them under the *soi-disant* name of *aggregati*, an appellation and a dignity totally unknown in the Roman Canon Laws.

Thus, in some particulars, the chapters resembled each other, especially in their tendency to multiply, and this was a most pernicious and injurious defect, the motive for which was the desire for riches and the spirit of cupidity. As to the Church, her interests lay behind those of the Clergy, and were forgotten. The laws of Russia only permit one parish to an ecclesiastic, so that every parish has a permanent pastor to direct the flock committed to him; but, although the Council of Trent commanded the same observance, the Roman Catholic clergy disregarded the injunction. Thus the canons and prelates of Wilna possessed priories and livings in different quarters of the diocese of Wilna, but engaged curates at a small remuneration to discharge their duties, while they, residing in the city or elsewhere, dispensed the considerable revenues of the benefices at their pleasure, amounts which often reckoned several thousand roubles per year.

What, we may ask, were these pastors, who did not even trouble themselves to celebrate divine service, and how shall we regard the unfortunate country priests hired and badly paid, who fulfilled their duties? It is clear, that by the nomination of prelates and canons to titles, they hankered still more after the riches of the Church, and forgot their ecclesiastical profession. As, therefore, these places presented sources of revenue, the Chapter of Kamience enacted that they might be sold for money, under the pretext that the sums so raised might be employed for the different requirements of the Cathedral. But in reality this was an ecclesiastical *ruse* to raise private funds—a traffic in Church preferments.

There was an Ordinance which should have diminished this class of idle ecclesiastics, who only enriched themselves at the expense of the useful parochial clergy, though the measure had not been made on this account, but in general to civilize the clergy. Six years after the establishment of the Seminary near the university of Wilna, that is to say, in 1813, it had been enacted that neither prelates nor canons could be nominated who had not finished their studies in this establishment, or those who should not have obtained the degree of Doctor of Theology at the University, or after the foundation of the Jesuitical Academy of Polotsk,

at that institution. But several diocesan authorities either would not execute the whole of this law, or very adroitly eluded it in the following manner : those students who lived at a distance from Wilna or Polotsk, were not required to present themselves personally for examination, but could forward their dissertations according to the examination they should hold as to scientific degrees, which of course afforded the person an opportunity to send a dissertation not written by himself, but by anybody else clever enough to compose it if he himself did not feel disposed to do so. Thus, nomination to capitulary functions was not hindered by this law. Some bishops openly opposed it, although it was unquestionably framed with regard to the instruction and consequently the welfare of the priesthood. "This has been presented by the members of the University of Wilna," said Mackiewicz, "in the same spirit that animated the French before the epoch of their famous Revolution, when everything with regard to the clergy was limited under the disguise of kindness and care for their welfare, but in reality to destroy them, or metamorphose them as then judged necessary." For more than twenty years this bishop entertained the idea that education and instruction were not necessary for the clergy, especially for the higher orders,

and opposed the diplomas of doctor by citations from the Epistles of S. Paul to the Ephesians and Corinthians; and he demanded in the year 1825, as a particular favour, that prelates and canons might be nominated without exacting scientific degrees, even to the grade of bishops. One may easily comprehend how he executed the ordinance on this subject, particularly when so commodious a means existed for eluding it.

With respect to instruction there were only the chapters of Wilna and Samogitia which offered certain guarantees under certain circumstances, as the University of Wilna could elect four canons in each of these chapters, and to the dignity of suffragan of Trock. It is evident that the government thought to purge the respectable clergy from the useless members, as the ministry of religion and public instruction confirmed the nomination of canons and prelates, after its creation, and was therefore obliged to enter into the fundamental details to ascertain what could or could not be confirmed. But this anxiety did not extend far, and it is only since this epoch that some preliminary ideas have been developed on this subject. Although bound to account for its acts, the ministry took no decisive measures, confining itself merely to some vague instructions, like that which in

1823, Prince Galitzen addressed to the Metropolitan :—" I find that even in preserving the custom followed until now, of permitting the members of the chapter of Wilna their curacies, that it is nevertheless quite contrary to canonical regulations ; as this abuse has been introduced, it is absolutely necessary to *limit it, taking into consideration the veritable services rendered by these ecclesiastics to the Church and the State*, and the amount of revenue which these persons receive in their capacities of members of the see." But the chapters remained in the same state, notwithstanding, and were always composed in the same way, their activity tending invariably towards the one aim: " All for themselves, nothing for the Church." It was thus that the high, rich, and privileged clergy acted ; exceptions were rare.

After the capitulary ranks in the hierarchical order, came the parochial clergy, the most necessary for the congregations, as they supplied the religious requirements, and were in continual connexion with the population. To form a correct idea of the state of these priests, it is necessary to examine the mainspring of their ecclesiastical career, viz., their preparation for the priesthood, their nomination to parishes, and their efforts for the welfare of the flocks of the Church.

Education is as indispensable and even more necessary for the priesthood than for other classes, as they instruct the people. The Metropolitan, Sies-trenczewitz, recognised this fact, and while still diocesan bishop occupied himself particularly with the seminary of Mohilew. When elevated to the dignity of Metropolitan, he laid the foundation of active and useful education in all the seminaries. The project of the organisation of these institutions was presented by him as early as 1797, and was based on the following considerations : 1st. the seminaries to teach moral theology, religion, including the ceremonies, the mode of explaining the catechism, geography, history, arithmetic, the Russian language. Such foreign languages as different localities required ; for example, German for the dioceses of Mohilew, and Wilna, with Lettish, seeing that in the government of Courland there were many parishes where they spoke these languages. French for that of Luck, Italian for Kamience. 2nd. The course of education to last four years. 3rd. The number of students to be determined by the extent of the dioceses and the number of parochial clergy, basing this calculation upon the supposition that in a population of one hundred persons, three die annually. The seminaries should prepare twelve clerks in every hundred priests, so that the vacancies occurring

from time to time could be replaced at once. 4th. That every seminary send the third part of the students to finish at the university of Wilna. 5th. The superior administration of the seminaries to be confided to the immediate inspection of the local Roman Catholic bishops; which would have been extremely useful for the conveniences of education. 6th.—In case of an insufficiency of resources for the support of the seminaries, to organise for this object a tax upon all the landed estates and funded property of the Church.

The examination of this project was confided by the Emperor to the third department of the Senate, which for a long time postponed its decision, demanding information as to the revenues of the clergy, which eventually ended in nothing. In the year 1803, this department left the care of establishing seminaries to the diocesan authorities, subject to the inspection of the college, without determining either the position of these establishments, or the sciences which should be taught; without allotting specified funds for their support, or even obliging the institution of these schools as positive. This was unquestionably canonical as based on the regulations of the council of Trent, which fully empowered the bishops to control the local seminaries. But was it wise to leave them to

the discretion of bishops who were themselves sometimes not instructed. Was it well for the future of the Church or the priesthood? The result of this measure sufficiently demonstrates its value.

The seminaries were placed in the following localities:—1st, for the diocese of Mohilew, at Mohilew and Zwenigorodka, government of Kiew; at Kraslaw, upon the frontiers of Courland, and at Bielostok; this last existed at the time of the annexation of the province of Bielostok to Russia. 2nd, for the diocese of Wilna: two seminaries in the city of Wilna, the diocesan one situated close to the Church of St. George, the other by the priests of St. Vincent at Illouksha, government of Courland, and at Brest Litowsk. 3rd, for the bishopric of Samogitia, one in the town of Wornia, district of Telsch. 4th, for the diocese of Luck, at Luck, Zitomir and Olyca. 5th, for Kamience, at Kamience-Podolsk; and lastly, for Minsk, at the city of Minsk. Thus for six dioceses one counted fourteen seminaries. At first sight it appears that ecclesiastical education should be duly guaranteed by a proper number of establishments, but the great number of institutions only lessened the means fixed for their support. If in the dioceses where there were three or four seminaries, there had been only one capable of receiv-

ing enough pupils from different quarters, there would have been a saving of resources to the benefit of pupils and establishment ; this centralisation conferring economy and uniformity in the administration, not only with regard to the institution itself, but in the estates belonging to it.

It is clear that the city of Wilna did not require two seminaries ; that of Olyca was equally superfluous, this town being not far from Luck where there was an episcopal seminary. Such a division of educational institutions was irregular, as they were placed in localities agreeable to the founder, and not because of the requirements of clerical education. Several of them were besides opened under the Polish *régime*, when the dioceses were altogether different ; and this irregular distribution prevented the episcopal visitations and inspections very often, as distant from the place of the bishop's residence. Their multiplicity, too, deceived one as to the number of young men who studied. At Wornia, there were the most pupils, they amounted to sixty-two, but the diocese of Samogitia reckoned more than a million of Roman Catholics. At the episcopal school of Wilna, there were fifty clerks, and twenty-two in the seminary, supported by the priests of St. Vincent de Paul ; whereas it would have been incomparably more useful to have had

fewer clerks at Wilna, where there was already an institute, and to have had one more distant from centre of education. At Kamience there were fifteen pupils, and this was quite sufficient for so small a circle. But on the other hand, for the entire diocese of Minsk, which with regard to population approached that of Kamience, there were nine clerks; and other establishments much less merited the title of seminary, as, for example, Swenigorodka, where there were only six pupils, Biełostok where there were five, and Illoukska and Olyca, which had each four. Brest-Litowsk possessed three. In such establishments there were generally no more than two professors, but Olyca had *one* only.

The resources for the support of these institutions were different, and had little resemblance between them. Some consisted of populated lands, and others of hypothetical capitals derived from private estates. Property, as a general rule, was badly administered by the clergy, and the interest upon the capitals, guaranteed upon the lands of the gentry, was uncertain and never to be counted on, because of judicial processes continually occurring. Sometimes such funds were entirely lost, and the existence of the institution became problematical, or its capability diminished; the school of

Olyca, for example, was in this position. Some seminaries, such as Wilna and Wornia, were rich; others, as that of Minsk, had nearly nothing, without speaking of the secondary seminaries, such as Bielostok, Brest-Litowsk, etc. In some of them, where the resources were regularly dispensed, the pupils were better supported; but where funds were insufficient, or not forthcoming, they were both badly fed and clothed.

The same diversity existed also with regard to the scientific instruction in different institutions, notwithstanding that in 1803 the Government had prescribed that the system of education should be the same as the plan followed at the principal seminary then established at Wilna. Religious rites with theology were common to all, other branches were taught in some, and in others instruction was extremely limited. Thus, for example, the Canon Law entered only into the programme of the seminaries of Mohilew, Swenigorodka, the two establishments at Wilna, and that of Zitomir. In Brest-Litowsk, Illoukska, Zitomir, and Minsk declamation was not taught, and at Mohilew, Kraslaw, Bielostok, and Brest-Litowsk, there was no Latin faculty. French and Russian were only taught in the two seminaries of Wilna; as to Russian history, it was ignored in every one

of them, so that those who were prepared to serve in the ecclesiastical dignities of the empire generally knew neither the language nor the history of the state whose subjects they were. The diversity in the choice of the sciences which they taught went so far, that in Swenigorodka they taught caligraphy; in the congregation of S. Vincent de Paul, at Wilna, physic and mathematics; and in the Episcopal seminary of Wilna political and social economy, sciences which the pupils could very well learn at the University of Wilna. One of the most necessary studies for the clerks, that of Holy Scripture, was in some seminaries taught only once a week, while others, much less indispensable, were given oftener; but that which principally occupied the time of the pupils was what they termed spiritual exercises, or meditations. In the administration of these schools there was no uniformity. The greater part of them were in the hands of the secular priesthood, under the surveillance of the bishop; others again were directed by the priests of S. Vincent de Paul, as that of Mohilew, one of the seminaries of Wilna, and Illoukska; this last was even supported at the expense of this fraternity. The seminary of Olyca was united to a primary school, and those of Wilna were regulated by a special committee. Although the number

of pupils in these schools did not, generally speaking, correspond to the requirements of the dioceses, some of these establishments, instead of educating more clerks, admitted lay pupils, who did not prepare for the priesthood. Such of this class as were called to assist the clergy in the divine offices were termed *violets*, after the colour of their vestments, and were often to be found in the seminaries of Luck, Olyca, and Kamience. These students, belonging for the most part to the *petite noblesse*, entered generally at a youthful age, and were from thence sent to the primary schools to study at the cost of the seminary. At the same time the secular clergy constantly failed in the dioceses, as these institutions educated too few clerks, so that monks were ordinarily found at the head of the parishes.

With such an organisation of the seminaries, under which every bishop had the right to change as he liked the programme of the studies, when there was an absence of all general plan for ecclesiastical education, it is not astonishing if, as all depended on arbitrary selection and hazard, these establishments were a failure in promoting the desired aim, and conducted not to the requirements of the Church. The clergy inspired the spirit of education, and these always faithful to their tradi-

tions, stifled the civilization of the time. Their system was to learn the Latin manuals by heart, and their aim consisted only in creating new champions for their schemes of proselytism. Under this relation, they required no general plan; the spirit of caste, disdain for all true civilisation and the Propaganda being the qualifications common to all the Catholic clergy.

It was only in 1822 that the Ministry of Religion commenced to direct its attention to the important work of clerical education, and invited the College to study this object more narrowly. But the College adopted only one single useful measure; that the teachers in the seminaries should be chosen from amongst doctors, or Masters of Arts in Theology. Up to this period the professors were arbitrarily selected by the seminary; all other dispositions of the College were quite secondary, their interference extending only to the introduction of a course of German for the colonies, or the changing of the hours, etc. All this did not correct, or even modify the false bases upon which these institutions were placed and administered. Established in places designated by the will of the founders, sometimes poor, at other times not knowing how to use their riches by properly supporting clerks sufficiently numerous for

the requirements of the diocese, regulated by the secular and monastic clergy, these schools taught whatever their governing authority desired. If it sometimes happened that one of them, being well supported, formed active and good clergymen, how often did it not occur that there were others which had neither the means nor the opportunities to prepare men worthy of their holy vocation. One cannot accuse only the clergy of the disorder which reigned in the organisation of the clerical educational establishments; the diocesan authority alone could know the local wants of the diocese. Altogether, the system of administration in these schools, the proportion of their means, the conformity of the resources to the proposed end, all this could only be embraced by a Government which recognised and knew the general wants. But in following in this case the ordinances of Rome to the letter, the Ministry only abandoned the seminaries, which ought to have been its own special care, to the complete and entire direction of the bishops, consequently the result of such measures became what we have seen. The ordinance of Rome had been followed, and neither Church or State gained anything.

Happily for the priesthood two men who were non-ecclesiastic, but of the *same* origin thinking

of the civilization of at least a part of the clergy and destined to fulfil the highest functions in the hierarchy of the Church, came to its aid. According to the ideas, and at the solicitation of Prince Ozartoryski, afterwards curator of the University of Wilna, and of the celebrated Czaczsky so justly known for his scientific labours, his love for education and the protection he accorded, the principal seminary at Wilna, near to the Church, was in 1803 founded, and in 1806 its regulations were confirmed. The best pupils of the diocesan seminaries were to be admitted into it to terminate their education ; they resided in the establishment, and followed the course of study for the University in which they should make their examination. The immediate direction of this institution devolved, under the presidency of the rector of the University, on a special committee, composed of three Professors of Theology, two members of the Chapter of Wilna, and a United Greek priest. Its support was derived from the revenues of nine benefices or estates, and a tax raised for this purpose on the convents. To the praise of the priesthood be it said, that the most zealous advocate of this plan was an ecclesiastic named Stroïnowsky, the then rector of the University, coadjutor bishop of Luck and later administrator of the diocese of Wilna. The bene-

ficent influence of this seminary did not fail to make itself felt. The young men destined to the service of the Church were educated in the dogmas of their faith, and in principles of severe morality by the experienced clergymen who directed the establishment, and who could survey their conduct, as the pupils lived in the same house with them. At the same time the clerks were not banished from the world; and within the walls of the University they were not familiarised only with the scholastic, as in the episcopal seminaries, but with contemporaneous progress of theology, and with other sciences indispensable to every civilised man.

With indignation the majority of the clergy heard of the foundation of a principal seminary not subject to a local bishop, but administered by a special committee, and which they styled anti-canonical. These enemies of civilisation were not satisfied that the committee was entirely composed of ecclesiastics, that the seminarists could not escape the surveillance of their instructors; in short, that the college had the right to visit the establishment whenever it thought proper. All this was only a pretext for discontent, but in reality their true opposition arose from their fear of the destruction of the spirit of caste, as the pupils had constantly daily intercourse with the students of other facul-

ties at the University. They displayed this animosity on all occasions, particularly by hindering any particular object in connexion with the school, and with this aim they were everlastingly in arrears with the sums destined for its support. These sums were very moderate for the clergy, when we consider their riches and the vast lands they possessed. For example, two hundred and thirty-four convents were only subject to a tax amounting to ten thousand roubles. The share every convent should pay was calculated on its annual revenue, but these revenues were so intentionally decreased that it was almost impossible the tax could for contingencies be less. The Dominican Convent of Ostroff had a revenue of five hundred and seventy-nine roubles upon an estate of three hundred peasants; the Dominican Convent of Doudakow had six hundred and sixty roubles upon six hundred and seventy nine souls; and all the others in like proportion; so that nineteen convents of Lithuania belonging to the Bernardines should pay seventy roubles, and eleven monasteries of the same order in the Russian province, thirty-nine. But even these trifling taxes for the benefit of ecclesiastical education were kept back, so that arrears accumulated every year. Besides this, sixty-two convents were quite exempted from

contribution — namely, those orders which occupied themselves with education, such as the Jesuits, the Piores, etc., which supported hospitals and other convents pretending to be very poor. At the close of the reign of the Emperor Alexander, the Dominicans of St. Petersburg even begged entire exemption from contributing to the support of the principal seminary, alleging that the school was of no utility, nor could it be in future; that on the contrary, it was a positive nuisance; that in other Catholic States there was no principal seminary; and that conformable to the statutes of the Church there could be only diocesan institutions.

The Dominicans were not the only opponents of the Seminary. Fanatics and ignorant priests also were animated with a like spirit, and their virus spread itself to the Ecclesiastical College,—the supreme tribunal of the Catholic confession in Russia. The College inspected the Seminary in 1811, and in 1815 took the opportunity to report it unfavourably to the Government. Mgr. Golowin, the visitor, Bishop of Orscha, found that they studied science too much at the University, consequently that the seminarists made little progress, that they had not enough time for theological branches, but the principal evil, according to his views, was that the pupils, dispersed as they

were in the different class-rooms for lessons, easily escaped the surveillance of the inspectors. Let us here note that the clerks were from twenty to thirty years of age. He judged that such intercourse was pernicious to their morality, consequently that their principles were weakened, and that they conceived a certain aversion to the clerical profession, so that many of them, after finishing their course at the University, would not accept the priesthood, and others, the bishop affirmed, even entertained penchants for infidelity and atheism.

The mainspring of all these accusations and slanders, is evident; the clergy would not abandon their spirit of caste, or tolerate the least contact between their pupils and persons of other professions, in order to evade all enlightening influences on their minds. Thus they permitted themselves to become mere fanatical tools to recruit caste. Instead of being satisfied that those who had no taste for the service of the altar quitted the profession in time, it pained them to lose members who would undoubtedly become useless and cumbrous in the Church. It is perfectly clear that the supposed difficulties in the course of the University not only did not hinder scientific study, but that the intellectual capabilities of the students, in perseveringly surmounting them, only seconded greater intellectual developments.

The ministry found the considerations of Mgr. Golowin worthy of attention, and supposed that the sorrowful diocesan seminaries sufficed for the education of the clerks, as, in his opinion, they taught all the sciences which should form a part of the theological faculty at Wilna, the result of which was a demand for the suppression of the principal seminary, "which though useful in some degree to the Latin clergy, was excessively onerous for the convents." Prince Czartorysky ably refuted the insinuations and calumnies of the visitor, and happily for the welfare of civilisation saved the Institute. But its enemies did not discontinue their intrigues; they were not strangers to cupidity, and they had their eyes on the revenue and the benefices attached to the foundation. In 1817 they again took steps for its abolition, but again were opposed by the curator of the district of Wilna, and their efforts then, and afterwards, had no effect. "It is astonishing," wrote Prince Czartorysky in 1819 to Prince Galitzen, "that some ecclesiastics are opposed to the seminary. Striking examples of such clerical antagonism to the progress of civilisation are to be met with in other countries, but it never prevents an enlightened government following its plan."

But the diocesan authorities, much against their

inclination, sent clerks to the establishment. Very few pupils of the seminary of Wilna, residing in the same town, finished their theological course at the University. Besides this, the pupils of the diocesan seminaries, not being sufficiently prepared encountered difficulties in following the course, particularly in the Russian and foreign languages, which were all badly taught at these schools. Owing to this defect in these institutions, there was very often nobody found to place in the vacant curacies of the colonies where German was spoken, when such vacancies occurred; few among the ecclesiastics could take part in the sittings of the college, owing to their ignorance of Russian, all the proceedings of that body being carried on in the national language, and the bishops were not unfrequently embarrassed for their correspondence with the superior power. In 1825 Admiral Schishkoff directed his attention towards this disadvantage, and began to ameliorate the condition of the diocesan schools. On the other hand, the principal seminary requested young men to be sent from the dioceses to be better prepared and more versed in foreign tongues, but this request was vain. The major part of the diocesan scholars gave no proofs of any knowledge either of language or science; and some of the bishops not only discountenanced the teaching of foreign

tongues, but absolutely opposed it. Mackiewicz declared that they prejudiced the Latin religion, and said, that in the lay schools they should give the preference to the Latin. It is here to be remarked that the clergy had nothing to do with the organization of the lay schools, and he would have done better to confine his attention only to that which concerned the improvement of his own class. This deprecation of scientific instruction, on the part of the ecclesiastical authorities, could hardly contribute to the proper preparation of pupils for an ulterior theological education.

The services rendered by the principal seminary to the Latin clergy were, in truth, immense. All that was respectable and civilized among them came from this establishment—nearly all the respectable bishops. It is a pity to see that it was not better appreciated. It not only was not created by them, but it existed against their will, and they discovered their antagonism to it by constantly exciting the Government against it.

The principal seminary could not furnish many students in comparison to the mass of the clergy, because the greater number of them were brought up at the diocesan institutions, which educated the majority of the priesthood, and these were far from responding to so important a vocation, or to

the progress of veritable Christianity. For the most part the clergy prepared in these provincial schools were half-civilised fanatics. Of such individuals the greater number of the parish pulpits were supplied.

Obliged to choose priests from such an army, the diocesan chiefs were also limited even in this choice by the Canon Law, which, in 1801, was recognised as the base of the law of patronage, according to which the candidates were named by the patrons themselves, the bishops only nominally confirming those presented to them ; this confirmation being only a formality. These parishes being dependent on the benefices, the places were often bought from persons who had the right of appointment. In the Primitive Christian Church the abuse of patronage did not exist ; it appeared only in the fifteenth century, for the purpose of encouraging the erection of churches, and to enrich the clergy. They afterwards extended this advantageous privilege more and more. It was not the diocesan chiefs but the patrons who nominated incumbents to the parishes in Western Russia ; in the Latin dioceses of the empire there were in all 1900 persons belonging to the secular clergy, and they could reckon at least 1200 patrons.

Neither by education nor their manner of life did the priests so nominated respond to the require-

ments of their congregations. Many of them were debauched, kept mistresses; having children, extorting money for holy offices, quarrelling with and beating their parishioners, whipping the peasants, etc.; and these vices were not, unfortunately, accidental cases, always everywhere possible, but were of constant recurrence. We could cite examples and proofs without number; for the honour of the Christian Church, however, we abstain from their repetition, but should our affirmations be doubted, or treated as fictions, we shall be forced to support ourselves by official proofs. The moral education of the flock depends on the personal qualities of the priest; who is ever before the eyes of his people, and his example is not without fruit. The unsatisfactory state of the priesthood reflected on the whole Catholic Church, and sometimes demanded the intervention of the civil power. Thus, in 1824, Prince Hovansky, the Governor General of White Russia, informed the Government that the immorality of the Catholic populations of his district, more than anything else, hindered the amelioration of the peasantry. Their ignorance was so great, he declared, that they did not know the principal Christian prayers. It was only by the pressure of the Government that the parochial clergy were commanded to explain the dogmas of religion

to their flocks, and to read them the principal prayers, recalling to their recollections on this occasion the prescriptions of the Council of Trent.

In general the curates were incapable of direct obligations, still less could they instruct children in districts where there were few or no parochial schools, but in this, as in the education of ecclesiastics, Czaczsky came to the rescue. Living in the Volhynia, where he had founded the celebrated Lyceum of Kremences, to which he presented his splendid library, he enjoyed general esteem. This position gave him the opportunity, in 1803, of procuring from the diocese of Luck an obligation, that every parish church should support a parish school, the amount of endowment not being fixed. The year following, Dembowsky, Bishop of Kamience, by the advice of Czaczsky, convoked a meeting of the clergy of the diocese, and induced them to contribute in favour of these schools the tenth part of the ecclesiastical revenue. Czaczsky drew up a programme for these establishments, which the Government confirmed in 1807.

To encourage civilisation, and as a proof of the interest he took in some of the clergy, the Emperor rewarded those priests who had established the parochial schools, or who had proved their solicitude for their welfare. But the cupidity and

the ignorance of the enemies of education could not be damped, either by the enlightened zeal of Czaczsky or the protection which the Government testified for civilisation. In several parishes of these two dioceses, the schools were not established at all, as the priests refused to support them, or paid the amount destined for their use very irregularly. In 1817 parish schools were opened near to every church in Kamience, but the amount of their annual revenue could never be certainly determined. The aim of the clergy in this case was totally different to that of Czaczsky,—he acted for the development of civilisation; the priesthood, on the contrary, used them as a means of inspiring bigotry and fanaticism. Such schools were more nuisances than anything else. Could it be expected that a bishop like Mackiewicz, who armed himself with Scriptural texts to prove the uselessness of diplomas for the faculty of theology, could co-operate in the work of civilisation? In a general sense, however, the Latin clergy founded few parochial schools.

Notwithstanding the extensive revenues of the priesthood, the Government came to the rescue by the support and repair of the churches at the expense of the state, even in the capital, where the congregations were very rich, and in some cases even supported the curates themselves.

The insufficiency of curates qualified by a knowledge of foreign tongues to fill the parishes in the colonies, put the legislation to the painful necessity of calling priests from other countries. These strangers arrived under difficulties, as knowing neither the country they came to, nor the people for whom they were destined. It is therefore especially plain that with a reasonable organisation of the seminaries, this would never have taken place. This measure entailed great expense, and besides it was not always convenient or easy to find suitable and respectable pastors, as a worthy and dignified servant of the Church could always find a parish at home. On the other hand, Russia did not fail in plenty of emigrant priests, who desired to reside in the empire without taking the oath of allegiance. These persons lived without any license on the estates of the proprietors of Western Russia, taught the children, and fulfilled the duties of chaplain—some of them were even professors in lay and ecclesiastical schools. Useless in their own country, they were no advantage to the Church, but sought an asylum in a hospitable land ; amongst the number might in all probability be found those who had expatriated themselves for their country's good, and to avoid judicial pursuits.

CHAPTER V.

THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS UNDER THE EMPEROR
ALEXANDER.

The Religious Orders which exist in Russia.—Their Decline.—Laxity of Monkish Morals.—The Absence of any genuine Religious Vocation.—Compulsory measures for gaining and keeping Novices.—The Convents show a tendency to self-exhaustion.—But this corrected by means of Amalgamation.—The Benedictines united with the Cistercians in 1803.—The Camaldulians amalgamated in 1811.—Disputes arising out of these combinations.—The most extensive of the Orders divided into two Provinces, Lithuanian and Russian.—The junction of the two Provinces of Bernardines and Barefooted Carmelites, and the two fused in 1816.—The Franciscans only formed one Province in 1819, similarly the Carmelites in 1820.—Monkish ignorance.—Resultless attempts of Prince Czartorysky and M. Czaczsky to kindle some enlightenment among them, and utilise them for educational purposes.—Orders of Female Teachers.—The Monastic Orders have one end, the Propagation of Fanaticism.—The Brothers and Sisters of Charity and the Rochites the only useful Orders.—The Hospices of Couvents placed under the Government Inspection.

THE religious orders have been very numerous in the west of Russia, where there have been thirty different ones existing, namely: The Dominicans, the Pietists, the Missionaries, the Augustinians,

the Bernardines, the Franciscans, the Carmelites, the Bare-footed Carmelites, the Trinitarians, the Reformers, the Capuchins, the Canons of Latran, the regular Canons, the Cistercians, the Marianists, the Benedictines, the Rochites, the Monks of St. Bridget, the Brothers of Charity, the Camaldulians, the Monks of Chartreux. By these some orders of women were formed: the Dominicans, the Bernardines, the Carmelites, the Marianists, the Benedictines, the Cisterciennes, the Nuns of S. Bridget, the Sisters of Charity, and the Sisters of Visitation. The number of the convents was very considerable; in some dioceses, the parishes scarcely exceeded the monasteries in number; thus, for example, in the Bishopric of Luck, over sixty-five parishes one could count fifty-four convents. In general there were more monks than secular clergy. All these Orders were managed in conformity with their rules; all, according to the canonical laws, were independent of the diocesan bishops, and were directed by the Provincials whom they elected themselves; and though all relations with heads of the Orders residing abroad were forbidden, nevertheless these relations did exist in reality, although the Statutes of the Orders could be scrupulously followed, provided only that the Government was never called

upon to meddle in their inner ecclesiastical concerns. For the most part the convents were very rich, and the Religious Orders had the disposal of many thousands of serfs, and of a large capital.

However, notwithstanding their multiplicity, and in spite of the large pecuniary means which they possessed, the Religious Orders, exempt as they were from all government control, were progressively advancing towards utter ruin. Far from being the ornament of the Church, they were becoming its reproach; the convents proved an asylum for epicurean luxury, for shameless immorality, and presented often the aspect of a haunt of vagabonds and criminals. In order to enable the reader the better to ascertain the true state of these holy asylums, we will confine ourselves to the limits of reciting here some few examples out of a thousand. Historical facts, in all their naked simplicity, are always more eloquent than any possible reasoning and all *à priori* ideas put together,—for the facts are incontestable.

Many Catholic monks had been exiled after the incendiary fires which had ravaged the western governments, in the summer of 1811. They had been condemned as men in collusion with felons and as incendiaries, and many among them had confessed to having counterfeited the signature of

the bishops on some false passports, of having held some indecent ideas about their holy religion, and had the intention of leaving their convents and flying abroad. In 1820, the police discovered a certain Palzevitch, ensign of the Ismaeloffsky guard, who had^e been degraded for theft, and who, under different names, had hidden himself in the convents of Wilna, where, after having taken orders, he continued to steal, and to fabricate false passports and false documents. In 1822, at the convent of the Carmelites of Koupinsk, Bishopric of Kamience, two monks, Guilleffsky and Pastouscheffsky, escaped from their convent to the kingdom of Poland; the prior of the aforesaid convent reported that these vagrants led evil lives, that they beat the servants of the convent, of whom they had even maimed some; that the ecclesiastical community, finding itself in perpetual contact with men who had nothing of the true monk about them, was falling into complete decay, that it no longer held any power, either religious or civil; that it trembled even for its existence, and begged to be delivered from the government of such monks as these.

The diocesan bishops and the ecclesiastical college verified this decay of the Religious Orders. In 1816, the Metropolitan expressed himself

in these terms on the subject of the Bernardines of the Russian province : " They are incorrigible in their vicious tendencies, almost all have been subjected to sentences from the Consistory, so that it is very difficult out of this Order to choose one single individual honest and worthy of being named Principal of the Order." In 1818, the Ecclesiastical College brought under the cognizance of the ministry that the missionaries absented themselves continually from their convent without any authorization, and did not perform their religious duties ; that some among them, after having obtained cures, had seized some property of the convents, and having thus fraudulently appropriated it, had quitted the order ; others having gone on a visit to other convents than their own, by order of their superior, had provided themselves with considerable sums belonging to their own convents, and having comfortably installed themselves in their new abodes, obstinately refused to return to their own asylums. The very same year the Ecclesiastical College reported that among the not very numerous fraternity of the monks of Chartreux, of the convent of Bérestzk, the discords, the dissensions, and the disorders had grown to such a point, that there was no longer any hope of re-establishing the least discipline ; that some special

commissions had already frequently been instituted for the administration of this convent, but that they had not obtained any result, and that, in consequence, nothing remained but to close the convent. In 1819, the pious Bishop of Luck, Ciescheffsky, informed the college that the convents of the Franciscans, in his diocese, found themselves in a deplorable state; that he had tried as much as possible to raise the character of these convents, so that they might answer to their holy end and to the statutes of the founders, but that neither his letters nor his pious exhortations, nor the projects of amelioration which he proposed to the Provincial of the Order, produced any effect. Lastly, that there were no longer any monks there distinguished by their knowledge, and that the whole ecclesiastical science was despised. The following year, the same bishop brought to the cognisance of the college, that the convent of the Carmelites of the Russian province found themselves in a state of decay, for the want of instructed monks, and in consequence of the degradation of the sciences which the monastic orders ought to cultivate. Let us put an end for the moment to the enumeration of these authentic statements, which, as we think, allow us to form an adequately exact idea of what the Catholic convents in Russia were.

The monks brought up in these principles, or rather in this want of all principle, carried these very same faults and weaknesses into the parishes to which they were appointed. Let us relate some examples. In the year 1815, the Privy Councillor, Count Séverin Potocky, complained to the Prince Galitzen that he could not find a priest even moderately suitable for the Catholic Church situated on his estate, not far from Odessa; that he had looked for one among the Dominicans of Tulczyn, but that one was worse than another, and that the last had ended by killing a man in an orgie. In the year 1820, the evangelical superintendent of Saratoff, M. Fessler, wrote to the Prince Galitzen: "Of what use to the colonists could the monks be who were always intoxicated, and notable for nothing but a moral depravity never witnessed by the people elsewhere. I know personally two who practised similar conduct, a Carmelite of the parish of Kamensk, and a Dominican who not three days before arrived quite intoxicated, and not later than yesterday, received confessions in that state. I am acquainted perfectly and in all its details with the monastic education of the mendicant monks in what were the Polish Provinces; for I have passed five years in Austrian Poland, and have travelled in it many times. In the nature of this education

there is nothing that has the power of forming good priests ; and out of a hundred monks that I know, I have never been able to find one single man to whom I should (without sinning before God) have been able to entrust the care of souls. The visitor of the colonies of New Russia complained equally of the Dominicans, who were continually intoxicated. "A single day does not pass," said he, "without a number of them being dead drunk !" The continual dissensions between the monks and the Syndics (in the parishes where there are any Syndics) shackled also very considerably the disciplinary order of the Church.

We can now see to what an extent of dissolution and immorality the convents and the monks have been drawn, and all this through the strict observance of the Roman law, which requires for the Religious Orders entire exemption from all authority of the Diocesan Bishops. Already completely disorganised under the Polish rule, the Religious Orders were demanding cogently an authority so strong and concentrated as alone could uproot the unheard of abuses which had found a shelter behind the walls of these religious retreats. They had not alone to be reformed, they had to be re-constituted. Siestrenczewicz thoroughly understood it, but the good of the Church was sacrificed to the obstinacy

and the egotism of the Court of Rome. Instead of six bishops to whom one ought to have rationally apportioned the authority of the Catholic Church (this includes the convents), what do we find? Thirty different provincial authorities, entirely independent, the issue of the election of immoral monks; it is on an authority like this that more than half of the Latin clergy of the empire depended. There were some Orders who had only one convent; for instance, the Camaldulians of Potschaïeff, the monks of Chartreux of Béresty, containing no more than three monks; one convent of this class had also its private administration, formed in itself alone a province, and one might say a jurisdiction, entirely separate. Is it possible that three members could have chosen a chief from among them, and that after this any subordinates should be left for him to govern?

At what period do we see this administration slackened and the exclusive prerogative of the Religious Orders relaxed? In an age when every inclination for the cloistered life had entirely disappeared, where the want of truly religious men did not allow of one being over nice in the choice, one was obliged to accept as monks all those who presented themselves, without examining if they had

or had not the qualities required, and a true vocation for the existence of a hermit,—a life not without wearisomeness as it was. The greater part of the monks were led to enter the Orders from pure interest, from the facility of procuring in the convent not only their daily bread, but even great physical ease. Those who had any possessions rarely allowed themselves to be carried away by the allurements of the monastic riches. Thus in the Diocese of Wilna, among about 1025 monks, there were only among them eighty belonging to the nobility; and among 302 nuns there were only three nobles. Thus, in order to prolong and cultivate the existence of their Religious Orders, they have often been necessarily obliged to draw novices into their societies, by cunning, by fraud, and by retaining by force some unhappy children who were not in a state to render any account of what befell them. Could monks of such a kind at a later time fulfil their mission worthily? Let us rather listen to the recital of those who have passed through all these iniquities, and who have seen them close at hand; let us follow them into the convents, and let us by them be initiated into the *régime*, and the inner life of these establishments.

“Left an orphan at the age of twelve years,” wrote, in 1811, in a petition to the Emperor, a cer

tain Ostroffky, a Polish gentleman, "I carried on my studies at the school of Pinsk, into which I was cajoled by the Dominican, Sakoffsky, who in 1800 sent me, provided with a letter of introduction to M. Mordasivitch, Prior of the Dominicans. This man received me with kindness, and kept me near him at the convent, and under the pretext of the uniformity established at the monastery, obliged me to put on the dress of the Order and to take part from time to time in the sacred offices. Although far removed from all contact with the world, and arrived at the age of sixteen years, I saw clearly that they wished to make a monk of me; I made a complaint, and begged to be permitted to leave the convent. But the Prior, accustomed to such manœuvres, thought it his duty to distract me, by sending me into another Dominican convent. The change of place, however, had no effect upon my mind, but, on the contrary rather, the constraint made me take a still greater disgust to the monastic life. The Dominicans shut me up by force in the convent, and it is thus that I have remained cloistered for five years, until the moment when I was able to fly, and by this means disencumbered myself of a form of existence which could not be pleasing to God, and would certainly be useless to my neighbour."

In the same year, a certain Bérejnitzky and his wife presented this complaint to the Prince Galitzen : “ The Dominicans of the convent of Kami-ence,” said they, “ persuaded our daughter, a girl of thirteen years, to enter a convent, and they took her forcibly from her mother. When the civil authorities interfered, she was secretly removed to the convent of Grodez, and from there they also carried her secretly again to Kami-ence, forbidding her to see her parents ; they attired her in the dress of a nun, and later, without taking any notice of our protest, they compelled her to take the vows. The child, being terrified, became ill ; was attacked with convulsions and fits. The nuns believing the child wished to pass for one possessed, whipped her, but when they were fully assured that she was really ill, they sent her, not to a doctor, but to a Father Confessor, and set over her a certain nun, named Poulisetzky, with the sacred water and the cross, to exorcise the demon. It was only when the child was about to die that they permitted her to see her mother ; who had scarcely entered the cell, when the girl fainted away. Nevertheless they still kept the child at the convent. On recovering a little from her illness, the young girl thought of running away ; but not having been able to resolve on this, she presented

a supplication to Mgr. Demboffsky, Bishop of Kamience, begging him to free her from her vows. She unfolded in detail in this petition full proofs of the way in which the Dominicans had made her enter the convent. The bishop commenced inquiring into her case ; but in order to put an end to her entreaties, the Dominicans began to persuade the young girl that her father had been sent into Siberia, and that her mother was dead, and that in consequence no other refuge was open to her but the convent. At the same time the Prior of the Dominicans, Monzer, after having threatened her with chastisement and with confinement, forced her to undertake in writing that she would desist from every complaint. The young girl was condemned to a public penance of four weeks and shut up in a cold cell, neither warmed nor lighted. On the door of this room was the likeness of the devil traced. They took from her her nun's dress, without giving her any other proper clothing, and made her clean the closets. During two whole years she endured these tortures ; at length she fled from the convent ; but as they continued to pursue her, she was obliged to wander under a false name, and to hide herself in the houses of strangers, among the stacks of corn, and in the ditches." The affair dragged on till at length the college wrote strongly

commanding her to be freed immediately, unhappy victim as she was of such cruel fanaticism, and the Dominicans were definitely condemned.

Means like these were not of a nature calculated to attract novices into the order. In many monasteries one saw only three, four, or five monks, who, while they were continuing to enjoy the revenues of their convent, led a life of luxury and idleness, after the fashion of rich proprietors. It was thus that the three monks of Chartreux of Beresty consumed the revenues of an estate with 1395 peasants on it in the government of Wilna, and of a capital of 63,000 roubles; five monks of Vinnitza (diocese of Kamience, government of Podolia) monopolised sixty rooms, etc. There were many convents of which the whole *personnel* consisted of two monks. in 1818 one found similar convents with two monks apiece: Samogitia, two; in the diocese of Minsk, two; in the diocese of Luck seven; and in the diocese of Wilna eleven. In a Dominican convent in the Bishopric of Luck, and in a Franciscan monastery of the Archbishopric of Wilna, they had not even one monk. Lastly the convent of the Order of St. Bridget, in the diocese of Luck, was completely empty, and nevertheless it continued to exist! The Dominican convents have been the

most numerous in the West of Russia: there have been nearly 100 of them; but on the other hand they were the most empty. In thirteen monasteries of this order in the diocese of Luck, there was only one which counted a fair number of monks. In drawing the attention of the Ecclesiastical College to the startling decrease in the number of the religious congregations, the metropolitan, in 1821, quoted especially the convents of the Dominicans of the Russian province, of which at their visitations the lists of numbers were no longer even presented: for the plan was to make the monks of one convent move on constantly to another, and thus secure a make-believe tenancy of monasteries, which were in reality almost, or quite, empty. Among fourteen convents of regular Canons in the government of Wilna, there was only a single monastery with seven monks in it, all the others counted up even less, and six of them contained only two. In a word, the greater part of the Latin convents did not contain the prescribed number, and any such according to the tenor of the canonical rules ought properly to have been shut. In fact, conformably to the decisions of the Council of Trent, in the four dioceses of Samogitia, of Luck, of Minsk, and of Wilna, 401 convents ought to have been abolished. And yet, in spite

of the explicit decrees of one of the Councils (one historically most important) in the Romish Church, all these cloisters dragged on their sad and futile existence. The monks continually unemployed led a life of luxury and idleness, and that in the very face of the people of the Latin rite, who could not but see more and more plainly the vacant condition to which the monastic retreats were reduced, and who were not ignorant of the corruptions of the monkish world, nor of the visible declension of the Church itself. When the government for the good of ecclesiastical education transferred some benefices to the account of the principal seminary for the maintenance of that education, the clergy raised loud cries against this pretended violation of the rites of popery. (It is thus that it named this change in the destination of some benefices.) But when, on the other hand, more than the half of the convents were not shut, in spite of the manifest infraction of the laws of the Church, the same clergy did not say a word, and calmly went on spending, as they had done in the past, the revenues of the land which, strictly speaking, they had no sort of right to enjoy. The Roman ecclesiastics knew perfectly well how to take up a proper stand and to hold fast by the canonical laws, and to keep punctually to their execution, each time that

these laws tended to their interests ; but then in the cases where these same Canons ran counter ever so little to their tastes or interests, they well knew the way to elude them, to forget them, and with what dexterity they managed to put them on one side. In this manner the secular clergy sometimes accepted many benefices, a thing which was severely prohibited by the Council of Trent. It is thus, too, that so many empty and uninhabited convents struck the eye of the passer-by in Lithuania, and that so great a number of idle monks caused themselves to be fed by the hard labours of their serfs, and scattered the property of the Church.

The clergy scarcely cared at all to re-establish the monastic discipline, or to refine the manners of the regular clergy, but had only in view the preservation of the manor lands of the convents ; for if the empty monasteries had been abolished as they ought to have been, the lands would have necessarily been confiscated, for want of proprietors. In order to obviate such a state of things, which was not without danger for certain monks, who were not living (as we have seen) in utter contempt of creature comforts, they had recourse to amalgamation, either of different Orders, each having their private statistics, or else of the same Order in dif-

ferent provinces under a common administration, in order to be able by this method to place, though it were but one or two, monks in each convent, and so to form some kind of congregation out of which one could at least choose the superiors. In 1808 the Benedictines and the Cistercians had three convents; and formed, while quite preserving the statutes of their respective Orders one single congregation, under one sole chief chosen every three years at the chapter of the two Orders held in rotation, sometimes among the Benedictines, sometimes among the Cistercians. To assist they gave it a visitor, to be elected in the same way; and thus if the chief of the congregation was a Benedictine, the visitor ought to be a Cistercian *vice versâ*, in order not to give any preponderance of one Order to the detriment of the other. The Camadulians of Pojaisk, by conforming their institutes with those of the two Orders undermentioned, were in the year 1811, united into one congregation; these Camaldulians were only six in number. They had in their convents neither monastic discipline nor internal economy, although they possessed three hundred serfs and a capital of 20,000 roubles. The Chartreux of Beresty were subsequently united into one congregation. This mixture of different Orders originated many discords and com-

plaints, and even called for some judicial inquiries. The Cistercians and Benedictines surpassed in number the Camadulians, and the Chartreux claimed a superiority over these last, and made them pay some very considerable contributions towards the common charges. The Orders meanwhile were disputing among themselves, and demanding the rupture of their association and a separate existence as in previous years, etc. In the West of Russia, the Franciscans, the Bernardines, the Carmelites, etc., were generally divided into two Provinces : Lithuanian and Russian. The limits of the provinces of one Order did not always correspond with the confines of the provinces of a different Order ; but generally the Lithuanian province comprised the following governments :—Mohileff, Witebsk, Minsk, Wilna, Grodno, and the Province of Bielostok ; as to the Russian province, it included the government of Kieff, Volhynia, and Podolia. The convents of the different Orders of the Russian province were, in general, in a less satisfactory state than those of the Lithuanian province, and for a very natural reason ; in the Russian province, the greater part of the convents, as we have seen above, were founded, not to meet the religious wants of the residents attached to the Roman rite, but with the fixed aim of spreading

the Latin faith in the bosom of the Greek population; thus they remained quite isolated in the midst of a people possessing another religion, fell more and more into decay, and the number of the monks sensibly diminished. At length to avoid the complete annihilation of these convents (an annihilation prescribed by the canonical laws and required by common sense), the superior ecclesiastical authority found no other means of preserving them and of increasing the number of the monks in them, than by effecting the union of two Provinces of the same order. When once the two Provinces were united, one could fill the convents of one Province,—almost empty as they were,—by the monks of the other, which was richer in members. It was with these views that the Bernardine convents of the Russian Province who could scarcely reckon two monks to a monastery, and the Barefooted Carmelites, of the same Province, were in the year 1816 subordinated to the Lithuanian Provincials of their respective Orders. The division into two Provinces of the Franciscans was abolished in 1819, and since then they formed only a single Province; and in the year 1820 the Lithuanian and the Russian Provinces of the Order of the Carmelites were wrought up into a single Province. But all these artificial palliatives could not establish

or guarantee the future existence of the convents void of monks as they were ; in aiming at the preservation of an existence which was at best only ephemeral, they followed but one aim, that of preserving their manor-lands ; but the life of the monks had ceased to correspond with the original intent of the Religious Orders ; spiritual independence, wealth, all this was there ; the sacred vocation alone was lacking. The monks fled the convents. The Bishopric of Wilna alone presented during the reign of Alexander, more than one hundred fugitives in the kingdom of Poland, and there they obtained the abolition of their vows and became completely secularised.

With some few exceptions, such as the Pietists and the missionaries, the monks were generally very ignorant. The illustrious Polish patriots, the Prince Czartorisky and Czaczsky, while dedicating all their efforts to Church improvement, thought they would be able to draw the clergy out of this intellectual stagnation, and even to employ them in the education of the people ; but this hope was vain. It was formally settled, in the foundation statutes of the principal seminary, that, after ten years (dating from that period), no monk should be able to fill the functions of prior, preacher, or master in the monastic and provincial schools, if

he had not concluded his studies at the University of Wilna, and could not produce a certificate from that University in proof of his knowledge. The complete ignorance of the masters of the monastic schools of the Wilna district having been too clearly ascertained, they were obliged (dating from the year 1813) to undergo some examinations at the gymnasium before having confided to them the education of the novices. But all the attempted efforts to make the convents tend to the well-being of the country were fruitless, the obligatory examinations remained a dead letter, and the monks evinced no desire of giving instructions themselves; but unhappily, all of them having very little knowledge,—and more than this, a definite disgust for all that constituted civilisation, we nevertheless do not find them utterly refusing the task of educating and civilising others. Some convents maintained schools which were kept in the place of the district schools; their number was about forty-three; but conformably to the project of M. Czaczsky they had resolved, although that could not be subsequently completely realized, to establish forty-eight schools more in the government of Kieff, of Wolhynia and of Podolia. Evidently M. Czaczsky fixed on these monks such hopes as not only they could not fulfil, but such as they would not care to realize. He honestly

believed he might be able to make them useful instruments in the civilisation of the people, propagators of popular instruction ; and even proposed to introduce into some of the convents certain meteorological experiments, and so place the monks on a level with modern scientific progress. These, alas ! were but the illusions of a man of honour and of an enlightened patriot.

In forming the educational orders of women, one finds the greatest number at Wilna. The Marianists, the Visiting Sisters, the Benedictines of St. Michael, and of Garetez, had schools for young girls at Wilna ; and, besides, the Visiting Sisters had a school in the suburb of the town, named Soubocz. In the other parts of the west of Russia, there were the Marianists, who occupied themselves by preference in the education of young girls : in their seventeen convents, five hundred pupils were educated. Some of the convents of the Sisters of Charity possessed also schools where the elementary education was given to the children of the two sexes. We find besides near to some other monasteries some schools, but without a title. It is thus that, in 1819, the Dominicans were permitted to open a school in their convent. In comparing the number of the monastic schools with the general number of the convents, we find that

they were very few; but one could not regret it. For it is not education in the veritable sense of the word that the monastic orders aim at; but to inoculate the children with their fanatical and self-interested tendencies, to accustom them to it from the most tender age, such was the task which they imposed upon themselves. The monastic schools as well as the noviciates, were in reality the first steps of the ladder which lead to Orders. For want of voluntary aspirants for the monastic life, the Religious Orders were filling up their numbers with pupils from these schools. They drew these young and inexperienced people to them by seduction and fraud; for they could not even render an account of their actions, but unhappily bitterly repented of it, when it was indeed too late, and who in reality had nothing about them of the monk except the dress. The Russian Government, which was not rendered answerable for these schools, looked upon them altogether from another point of view; it tried to encourage their development, and in every way induced religious women to institute schools in the convents; at the same time expressing its desire to the Ecclesiastical College “of seeing these works prosper—works in every point worthy of the greatest praise and so useful for the public benefit.” The Religious Orders,

which one can consider as alone useful, were the Brothers and Sisters of Charity, and the Rochites, who, according to the statutes of their Orders, especially dedicated themselves to the assistance of the poor and the sick. But there were in all seventeen convents of this kind, which gave refuge to about five hundred persons; nine convents of Sisters of Charity, four convents of Rochites, and four convents of Brothers of Charity. It is true, that many convents possessed manor lands and funded capitals, which had been given to them with the special aim of establishing and maintaining houses of charity; but the clergy got to confound, arbitrarily and on their own authority, these special gifts with the general mass of the ecclesiastical revenues, and the appropriation was thus entirely contrary to the will of the founders. These establishments of charity, which ought only to serve as asylums for the unfortunate, grew empty, or their door was closed to the poor; none but the protégés of the ecclesiastics were allowed to enter there; even there where such hospitals existed, it was only the clergy who knew to what extent the will of the founders was carried out in theory.

Near to other monasteries, huts and small ruined cottages alone bore witness to the past existence of these houses of charity; and the poor for whom

succour was indispensable, when once robbed of all means of existence, found themselves deprived of every kind of aid. These disorders at length induced the government to take all these hospitals under its direct inspection, and to bring them under the control of the department of Public Benevolence.

Commiseration for the sufferings of humanity—and this was the *rôle* which some of the orders played,—was in their mouths scarcely a disinterested plea. In this sense it was that they often took advantage of the weaknesses and infirmities of persons coming under their hands but not belonging to the Romish religion, in order to convert them to the Latin creed; nevertheless, one must render them this justice and allow that they did come to the succour of a suffering humanity with a devotion thoroughly Christian, and that they thus distinguished themselves from the regular clergy, who in sloth and idleness led luxurious lives, and by their conduct and temper brought dishonour upon that Church which they professed to serve.

CHAPTER VI.

A GENERAL SURVEY OF THE POSITION OF THE
LATIN CLERGY DURING THE REIGN OF THE
EMPEROR ALEXANDER.—THEIR MISSION WORK,
AND ITS MECHANISM AND RESOURCES.—RULES
OF PROCEDURE FOR THE CLERGY IN THEIR
RELATIONS WITH ROME.

Resumé of preceding Chapters.—Mission Work.—Superfluous erection of Churches and Chapels.—False insinuations.—Pretended Miracles.—Education.—Mixed Marriages.—Indulgences.—Processions.—Jubilees.—Vast material resources of the Clergy.—Sad state of Ecclesiastical Property.—Ecclesiastical Funds.—Establishment of a Relief Fund for the Clergy, 1822.—Rules of Procedure for the Clergy in their relations with Rome.—The laws on the subject often infringed by the Clergy.—Papal Bulls and Briefs only admitted on condition of their containing nothing in opposition to the laws of the Empire.—Attempts of the Holy See at changing the Episcopal Charge introduced by the Empress Catherine.—Taxes on the Episcopal Bulls.—Aim of the relations maintained by the Holy See in regard to Church matters.—The Procedure at Canonical Law.—The Government watches over the Latin Clergy, with a view to their strict observance of Catholic Dogmas.—Linde, 1822,—Gassner, 1824.

IN recapitulating all that we have hitherto said, we necessarily reach this conclusion: that the Latin Clergy in Russia were in a sad state. The

clergy of the chapter-houses and the Religious Orders were idly multiplied, and yet all the while curates were not seldom wanting for the parishes. The prelates and the canons thought only of the benefices attached to their cures; the secular priests did not discharge the duties of their holy office, and the monks, with some very rare exceptions, disgraced the religion of which they called themselves representatives. The whole clerical body, speaking generally, was very ignorant, and was scarcely ashamed of showing a decided aversion to civilisation. And yet in the hands of this same clerical body, great as was the liberty of action allowed, rested the disposal of all the means for developing that very civilisation; the Government scarcely interfering at all with its economy, and the statutes of their Church serving as the foundation for their internal administration. One can thus say that the Latin clergy has shown us to what results a too great independence, and the absence of all control from a higher power has led, and what are the effects of a too slavish application of the Roman canons, and that pre-eminently when one takes into consideration neither place nor season. The right of patronage shackled the bishops in the choice of worthy priests, and such as would be useful in their

cures; the subordination of the individual seminaries to the exclusive authority of the bishops of their respective dioceses, deprived these institutions of all uniformity in their system of ecclesiastical education, and left them to the caprice of certain individuals who were sometimes enemies to all learning; the independence of the Religious Orders, governed by their Provincials, but not subject to the Bishops, soon showed its result in their complete decay, and that in spite of their great material resources. These Roman regulations and customs, so clearly injurious to the Church, were followed by the clergy, not from a spirit of submission to the ordinances of Rome, not from a conviction of their importance, but simply because they flattered the weaknesses of the clergy, who found them useful and convenient. Further, the question was how to prevent the growth of pluralists, how to follow scrupulously the rules of the Order, how to lead a chaste and truly religious life; even then arose the opinions that the decisions of the Councils were not adequately obligatory; they obtained a plea for the abuses that were found to exist in the fact that they were found existing. The canonical prescriptions were followed in an inverse sense; that is to say, the monks did not put in practice those

which had for their aim the purifying the life of the clergy, and the development of ecclesiastical institutions, but observed nothing but the ordinances of the Court of Rome, though these last owed their origin solely to the very jealous desire of dominion ever manifested by the Papacy, which, with an intention visible enough, namely, its ulterior aim, was constantly weakening all local ecclesiastical power, making Rome alone appear omnipotent.

To be brief, matters may be thus summed up:

The Roman Church and its institutions must needs submit to continual decadence. It was not without reason that the Metropolitan Siestrencewicz always opposed the right of patronage, the arbitrary action of the regular monks; it was not without reason that he insisted on the necessity of reorganizing the seminaries, which alone would with time provide the Church with distinguished members. They remained deaf to these propositions through a pretended deference to the Romish canons; they left the clergy to themselves, permitting them to establish and maintain themselves in this manner, according to their uses and customs; we have seen the sad consequences of this system. Every impartial judge, in examining them, knew that they were such as we have seen them in

Western Russia; it will be found, we are sure of it, and that without the slightest exaggeration, that in the organization of the Latin Church there is no good except what is involved in some departure from the letter of the Roman Canons. As a proof of this, compare the diocesan seminaries, instituted after the Roman model, with the chief seminary of Wilna, which it was constantly asserted was founded on anti-canonical principles. What then is it we observe? In the first, profound ignorance, in the second, an advanced civilisation. One can assert with full confidence that the same results would have been attained in extending the higher authority of the bishops, in limiting the right of patronage, in bringing into subjection the Monastic Orders to the immediate supervision of the Ordinaries. A concentrated and vigorous force could alone have sufficient power to eradicate the inveterate abuses which had taken root in the Latin Church in Russia; there was much to alter in its administration, and much to reorganize, in order to preserve the purity of the faith, in order to render the clergy worthy of their holy mission, and veritably useful not only to their Order, but still more to the State and to the people.

A contemporary—a zealous defender of the Latin Church, and the sworn enemy of Siestrencewicz—

a fanatical partisan of the Roman customs, and a furious antagonist of all governmental control in ecclesiastical administration—has drawn for us the following picture of the state of the Latin clergy at the time which now engages our attention, namely, that of the reign of the Emperor Alexander.

“ The monastic bodies, left to their own administration, have achieved a wonderful emancipation from the bonds which the statutes of their Orders laid upon them. In fact, the absence of all discipline,—the forsaking the life at a common board,—the infractions of their vow of poverty, seclusion, and of obedience,—the daily contact with immoral laymen,—an inveterate use of strong drinks, to such an excess that drunkenness had become a vice common to the regulars,—carelessness in the celebration of the Church services;—a continual idleness and an immoderate thirst for pleasures, so little in conformity with the calm and tranquil spirit which one expects to find within the walls of a convent,—contempt for the rules and the dress of the Order,—complaints, quarrels, and continual dissensions among the monks;—such are, one may aver, the characteristic features of the monastic life. Even for the future it is difficult to hope that an efficacious remedy can be found

for the deep-seated evil, which, hiding itself as it does in the very monasteries themselves, can only be completely destroyed if plucked up by the roots.

“ The secular clergy, though they have not fallen to such a terrible depth of deterioration, are in their turn not exempt from fatal vices. With the exception of some dioceses, where the canonical laws and order are scrupulously observed, and where the conduct of the priests is subject to inspection, we are obliged, unfortunately, to avow with grief, that all the clergy are, so to say, penetrated with a covetous thirst for benefices, cures, dignities, and ecclesiastical degrees, and that they aim at obtaining them, not by pure ambition and proved worthiness, but by all imaginable means. This tendency has developed to such a point, that often quite a juvenile priest, fresh from his ordination, claims forthwith as high a salary as the priors who have honourably served out their term of office ; and this though he has none of the qualities which, if we follow the canonical laws, would warrant his being allowed the least preference over his elders. That eager canvassing for vacant livings to the patrons, in whose gift they are, results in simony, although one might well veil the fact under the dignified title

of "Jura Cancellariae," by way of indemnity to excuse the affixing of the family seal and the subscription of the individual's signature. We would not confidently affirm that the same scandals went on in the Episcopal Chanceries; but we do know that even there it is not always talent and merit that carry most weight at the time of the nomination to livings. After having been appointed to some kind of benefice, the young priest's first care is the paying the debts incurred in the purchase of his cure; after that he must needs enrich his relations, by whom he is generally surrounded; and lastly, he applies the revenues of the parish to his own personal use, for entertainments and for some articles of luxury; so he has very little care left for the Church, the sacristy, and the parish. While resigning himself to amusements of every kind, to gambling, to worldly pleasures, so little in accordance with his vocation, a priest necessarily neglects the Church services, the guidance and the well-being of his parish. Instead of employing himself in his cure, with the assistance, if required, of one or several priests, he commonly attaches to himself for this purpose some monk expelled from his Order, or a Greek pervert, and it is in such hands that he leaves the duties of his office, while he travels or amuses himself. And not unfrequently one

meets with priests who, in addition to dissolute manners, are covetous without limit, and who surrender themselves to such robbery and exaction, that they become positively insupportable alike to their parishioners and to all who have any dealings with them ; and all the while, looking at this conduct from the other side, they neglect their charge, the well-being of their Church and its sacred services. Still more contemptible than even these are those priests who by their drunkenness and immoralities have made themselves a scandal in the eyes of the people. One might have hoped that for the future this unhappy state of things might have been remedied, but it is questionable whether this hope can ever be perfectly realized, if for no other reason at least for this, that the young men have to support themselves at the seminaries at their own expense, and, thus that neither those who are quite independent or those who are quite without resources are likely to seek admission into them ; inasmuch as neither intellectual qualities nor moral excellencies, but the paying for the vestments, constitutes the first condition of entrance into these institutions. As to what regards the higher clergy, and particularly the class that is opulent and privileged—as for example, the Chapter of Wilna, and some pro-

prietors of benefices in other dioceses—one cannot conceal the fact, that above every other need is the need of a prompt reorganisation to enable them to meet the conditions with the view to which they were originally constituted. One must trust that the Government will take effective measures for reform, limiting their funded property, and restricting them within the limits of strict necessity, confiscating some of those immense revenues which the clergy abuse, to the manifest dishonour of the Church, and to the scandal of its faithful members.”

One would be necessarily led to believe that the Latin clergy, finding themselves in a position of this kind, would have directed all their attention to these internal shortcomings which disfigured the Church, and that they would set themselves earnestly to repair and redress them, to preserve their influence on those who held the Roman faith. The very opposite was the case ; they gave scarcely a thought to this, but faithful to their programme, it followed only one aim, that of outward extension, looking only to the quantity, and holding the quality of their flock very cheaply. Certainly, it is not by example, for their life and conduct were as little edifying, as their Christian acts were numerous, that these priests could hope to draw proselytes to the

Latin Creed ; they also employed all kind of seductions, which required no labour, no particular Christian enterprise and no privation ;—confession, preaching, their intercourse with the people, etc., alone served to extend their propagandist influence. The means most resorted to with this aim were :—

1st. *Superfluous erection of Churches.* This method of proselytizing was employed by preference, in the places where the Roman Catholics found mixed populations who belonged to other Christian sects ; for instance, many places of Western Russia inhabited by the Ruthenians of the Greek faith, and in the central and Eastern provinces some colonies, where the Catholics found themselves among Lutheran neighbours. Generally, the presence of some Roman Catholics in a place was the pretext for establishing a church, but in reality these were very few in number, so that they could quite well do without a new church, inasmuch as there were in the neighbourhood other Latin churches, where they might have gone on worshipping as they had done hitherto. But as soon as an imposing church appeared, proselytes ran thither from midst of a people ignorant, and speedily influenced by external pomp.

2ndly. *False Insinuations* (fraudulent conver-

sions). These were generally made use of towards minors, who were not sensible of the responsibility of their actions, and towards ignorant and superstitious persons. For examples: a woman, a member of one of the Evangelical communions, having shown some symptoms of insanity, was subjected by a Latin priest to various mysterious ceremonies, with the object of exorcising the evil spirit, by whom he pretended that she was possessed, assuring her that the only hope of safety for her was in embracing the Romish religion. Another priest persuaded two persons afflicted with epilepsy that they would be immediately cured if they would only enter the pale of the Church. The Roman ecclesiastics often distributed to the Lutheran colonists holy water for the cure of maladies. Moreover, they frequently persuaded the parents and guardians of other Christian communions to bring them their children to baptize according to the Roman rite, though it required many attempts before they could succeed.

3rdly. *False Miracles.* In the year 1817, a report was spread that, in the village of Pliskovo, in the district of Lipowec (Government of Kieff), an image of the Blessed Virgin had appeared

near to a well, and that it had performed some miracles. The proprietor of the village, Monsieur Jakouboffsky, had built near this well a chapel where Catholic priests used to come to say Mass; an immense number resorted thither, especially on festivals, when there were sometimes nearly a thousand people. The matter at last attracted general attention; but when some one went there to seek special information, he could discover no authentic miracle whatever. In 1821, it was announced in the district of Proskouroff (the Government of Podolia) that a miraculous image of the Saviour and Blessed Virgin had been found at the market town of Solomnoy, Kouba Oleinik, in the house of a peasant. It was pronounced miraculous on the assertion of the peasant alone: the image having been black with old age for twenty years, had suddenly become quite fresh. The curé of the Church at Tornaroud, Tomascheffsky had two lamps fastened to the image, surrounded it with wax tapers, and spread a report that a miracle had just been performed. The people hastened thither *en masse*, and brought presents of money in honour of the image. On May 26th the priest ordered a procession to conduct the image into the Church of Tornaroud, when more than two thousand people assembled, and Tomascheffsky, after having en-

joined his vicar to carry the image into the church, declared that it was invisibly transported there. The people immediately rushed to the spot, and, true enough, there they found the image. Great was the excitement; the news of the miracle quickly spread around among the population of the Greek faith, who from that time forward began to be seen but seldom in their own church, but were found visiting that of Tornaroud, in order to worship the holy image of Tomascheffsky. The people brought gifts, and asked themselves, "Why there were not the like miracles wrought in the Greek Church?" In 1824 the Dominicans of Toultechin related how that on the 5th of December, at midnight, they had perceived a vision, under the form of a priest officiating before an altar; that this altar was brilliantly lighted, and that even the bells had been heard to ring.

4th. *Education.* In the schools of the district, under the direction of the Latin clergy, the children of members of the Greek Church were equally admitted. The Latin priests taught them the dogmas of the Romish Church, obliged them to be present at their services, and even made them take a part in them, by wearing black dresses at the funeral Masses celebrated in memory of the deceased

Pope. After having in this way prepared them without the knowledge of their parents, they ended by quite converting them to the Latin faith. Such was their constant plan. One could discover special grievances in individual cases, besides those indicated in this summary of formal complaints. Generally they refused to give any teacher of religion at all to the children of the Greek Church, but when they were compelled to provide one they rendered his position impracticable. While proselytising their pupils who belonged to other Christian professions, the Catholic clergy never suffered that the children of the Latin faith should have any teachers of another creed. Let us record a fact which happened in the year 1818 at Seuck. The district school of this town belonged to the Evangelical Synod; and for these pupils, who were of the Romish faith, a Latin priest was appointed belonging to a Catholic Church of the place, of which the famous Sczantyr was the prior. But the bigoted dean had a deep hatred for an establishment under the direction of the Calvinists, and he inspired the teacher of the Roman religion with this self-same spirit of hatred. This man at the public examination, in the presence of Sczantyr, in explaining the dogmas of the Christian religion to his pupils (of whom, remember, the greatest

number were Calvinistic), showed that all beliefs, with the exception of the Roman, were under the anathema of the Pope, and that Calvinists, as unsound members, had been cut off from the body of the faithful; shortly after Sczantyr, from his president's chair, expounded with the vehemence of an enthusiast, the weight of the sin which the parents were committing in entrusting the education of their children to heretics.

5th. *Mixed Marriages*.—With regard to marriages, the Latin clergy specially tried to draw the man or the woman who was not of the Romish faith to embrace that creed, and to bring over to it children previously baptized according to the rite of another Confession. On the other hand, they opposed that in mixed marriages the party who was a Catholic should change his religion, which the very natural desire of giving the children a uniform education not unfrequently suggested. Proselytism in the bosom of families caused dissensions to arise, and provoked complaints which were obliged to be referred to the government.

6th. *Indulgences*.—The doctrine of Indulgences is one of the most obscure and intricate doctrines of the Romish Church. Founded on a false principle, it is illogical in its consequences, and this

is why Latin theologians envelope it in a labyrinth of subtleties, through which no judgment however keen, if left to its natural instincts, could possibly find a way. On many essential points of this doctrine, the Roman canonists are not at all agreed, and at Rome there is a special standing committee which is engaged in the solution of all the controvertible questions which rise out of this subject. For this reason we shall not consider it superfluous to say a few words here on the significance and scope of Indulgences, as far, that is, as we have been able to grasp the idea of them in the writings of the Romish authors.

Indulgence does not mean the remission of the sin, that one cannot obtain otherwise than by the sacrament of penance, but it is the remission of the temporal penalty, due to the sins already remitted as far as regards the "*Culpa*," which lies outside the range of the sacrament. This remission extends also to the pains of purgatory. This right of the Romish Church to profit by and to enjoy the prerogative of Indulgences, theologians base on the possession of a spiritual treasury containing a store of supererogatory satisfactions for mortal sins, and on the ground that it can dispose of these satisfactions at its own convenience. This spiritual treasury has been thus formed: Jesus Christ

suffered without sin. All *His* sufferings, therefore, have been held in reserve for the salvation of the human race, and are stored in this treasury, which is entrusted to the administration of the Pope. But as Jesus Christ with one drop of blood would have been able to redeem not one world but a thousand worlds, it is evident that the ground of the superabundant satisfactions preserved by God in the aforesaid Roman treasury for the remission of the sins of humanity, is inexhaustible, and that nothing exists to limit the available amount of these Indulgences. Moreover, this same treasury includes the superabundant satisfactions made by the Blessed Virgin and all the saints. Holy men have suffered innocently, and by that have increased the spiritual treasure of the Pope, since through their lives they have done more good works than they were obliged to do. All this together forms the substance of the superabundant treasury of spiritual riches which the Court of Rome, with an unwearying zeal, has now for some centuries past been drawing upon, and issuing these Indulgences for the remission of temporal penances, which men have been by their own sins continually meriting.

The power of granting these Indulgences belongs: 1st, to the Pope; 2ndly, to a General

Council, at which the Pope presides either personally, or is else represented by a Commission; 3rdly, to the Bishops in their dioceses, but they can ordinarily only grant this for forty days, and at the most on the occasion, for instance, of the consecration of a church, for no longer than one year; 4thly, to the Cardinals, to whom it is only permitted to grant one hundred days, in the churches of which they are the incumbents, when they are assisting in the services at the chief festivals; 5thly, to the Patriarchs, to the Primate, and to the Archbishops, who can grant eighty days; 6thly, to the Legates *a latere*, to the Nuncios, and to the ordinary Legates, who can grant an Indulgence of seven years and seven continuous periods of forty days, which Indulgence must be attached to some particular church, and likewise one of one hundred days, or even more,—only less than a year for any special work of piety. For the living and for the dead alike there are Indulgences that are plenary and those that are partial. Plenary Indulgences remit all the temporal pains due to sins on earth and in purgatory; partial Indulgences remit only a part; for example, forty days, one hundred days, seven years, ten years of the penance which the sinner would have to undergo according to the canons. Latin theo-

logians explain the difference between Indulgences applicable to the living and those applicable to the dead in this sense, that the Romish Church remits to the living the temporal punishment due to their sins, since the living are subject to its own authority and to its spiritual jurisdiction; but to the dead, who are no longer subject to its authority, it only offers to God from its treasury the portion needful out of the superabundant satisfaction of Jesus Christ and of the saints, and prays God to look with an eye of pity on these satisfactions, and to remit to the dead for whom they are presented those temporal punishments due to their sins in the fires of purgatory. This interpretation of the Indulgences granted the dead has been given by courtesy, as it were, and with the view of keeping up appearances, but in reality, the Romish Church itself remits the pains of purgatory, as many authentic Indulgences clearly prove. Lastly, besides these above-mentioned, there are certain privileged altars, so that the Masses celebrated on them obtain for the living and for the dead plenary Indulgence.

The incoherence and inconsistency of the Roman doctrine about Indulgences, without mentioning its essential or moral character, is made clearly apparent in the impossibility of co-ordinating that

remission of the punishments of sin, which the Indulgences procure, with the amount of "*culpa*" or fault which the sin merits. In point of fact, how can the Indulgence be accorded for so many days or so many years? Who can determine the duration of the punishment due to each human sin; so what can this remission of temporal penances determined by certain days and years possibly mean? If any more proof were needed, it would be enough to transcribe some few sentences from an authority in this matter. Mgr. Bouvier, Archbishop of Mans: "Plenary Indulgence," says he, "if it were gained and applied in its fullest sense, would obliterate all the pain due to the sins which one has committed up to the very moment when it was applied. So that if one died immediately after having gained it, one would go right to heaven. But it is impossible to know when a plenary Indulgence is gained, plenary, that is up to this degree of perfection. It is more difficult still to know exactly the value of a partial Indulgence, for that depends on the nature of the debts which a person has contracted to the divine justice, on the moral qualities of the individual, on the degree of piety and of fervour that he exercised in the fulfilment of works prescribed. Now all this being infinitely variable, we can have no fixed point or certainty

from first to last. It is moreover certain that in granting a fixed number of days, or of weeks, or of years of Indulgence, the Pope does not so far presume as to abridge numerically the pains of purgatory. His intention is to remit that portion of the pain due to the sin which the canonical penance, faithfully undergone, would during the time have earned for the sinner. What is the amount of this pain? We do not know. Do forty days of Indulgence, fairly gained, remit only forty hours of suffering in the other life? We are ignorant about this, and in vain shall we seek to ascertain it. The judgments of God are an impenetrable abyss; we must adore and fear them without idly striving after a comprehension of them. We know only that indulgence is a means to render that judgment favourable to us, or at any rate to diminish its severity; that is sufficient reason to induce us to have recourse to them. Perhaps full Indulgences, repeated and multiplied, will not deliver us entirely from the pain due to our sins; never mind; still if we are prudent, we shall endeavour to obtain them as often and as perfectly as we can." What then after all are Indulgences? Are they not that essence of a subtle scholasticism elaborately compounded so as the better to intoxicate the superstitious, and advance bigotry and hypocrisy?

However this may be, we will beg our readers to give us their attention to the end, while we analyse the other chief points of the doctrine of Indulgences.

The works and religious practices for which Indulgences are granted are very numerous. Thus there are Indulgences: 1stly. for the last moments of life; 2ndly. for forty hours as mentioned above; 3rdly. for the Road of the Cross; 4thly. for the Agony of our Lord, etc. The Indulgences of the forty hours during which the Body of our Lord remained in the tomb are appointed for the cancelling of the sins committed during the time which immediately precedes the holy forty days. The Indulgences of the Road of the Cross are granted to those who take part in the representation of that act of the life of Jesus Christ on earth. This representation is the privilege of the Franciscan Order, who make a practice of establishing fourteen stations for this purpose. Any one desiring an Indulgence can go from one station to another and make his petition before each. The Indulgence for "*the Agony of our Lord*," is granted to those who, after having confessed and having communicated on Holy Thursday or in Easter week, meditate during three hours on the sufferings of our Lord. This devotional practice was introduced by the Jesuits.

Besides these, they grant Indulgences; 1stly, for some prayers in honour of the sacred heart of Jesus Christ or of the Blessed Virgin; 2ndly, for the recitation of different prayers, as "*Veni Creator*," "*Angelus*," "*Salve Regina*," "*Sub Tuum*," "*Stabat Mater*," etc.; 3rdly, for the Invocation, solely of the names of Jesus and of Mary, one hundred days' indulgence are granted; 4thly, for some prayers in honour of certain saints, etc., etc.

It is not the place to relate here all the religious practices,—they are numberless,—for which Indulgences are granted. But one may just mention that there are some which are attached to particular crowns, chaplets, rosaries, crosses, crucifixes, medallions, even to particular statuettes. And still,—what any more Indulgences? Yes, for example, to him who recites, as a veritable penitent by the crown of our Lord, thirty times the "*Pater*," five times the "*Ave Maria*," and once the *Creed*, is allotted an Indulgence of two hundred years.

The crowns and the chaplets are subdivided into different kinds, and to each kind is attached some particular indulgence. Thus there is: 1stly. the crown of the seven wounds of our Lord; he who desires to obtain the Indulgence attached to this

crown should address a prayer to each of the wounds, first to that of the left foot, then to that of the right, then to that of the left hand, then to that of the right, and, lastly, to the wound of the the side; 2ndly. the crown of the Precious Blood of our Lord; 3rdly. the crown of the sacred heart; 4thly. the crown of the seven sorrows of the Blessed Virgin; 5thly. the rosary; 6thly. the crown on chaplets; 7thly. chaplets of St. Bridget.

We have still to notice certain Indulgences of a local character, that is, attached to individual Monastic Orders or even to certain parish churches.

We have felt bound to enter into all the foregoing details, for the sake of presenting in a manner at once plain and palpable the general tenor of the whole of the Roman doctrine of Indulgences, and the means employed for spreading this doctrine among the masses of the people, ignorant and superstitious as they are. But we have not yet noticed the special significance which belongs to Indulgences in relation to the Papacy itself. The Court of Rome employs them (as it does its religious institutions, one and all with very slight exception,) for the extension of its dominion and the increase of that intolerance and persecution

which, time out of mind, it has brought to bear upon all independent Christian communities whatsoever. Let us, in preference to other authors, quote here the words of one whom we have already cited, Monseigneur Bouvier, an authority on this subject: "To prostrate oneself before the Sovereign Pontiff when he gives his benediction, or before a Bishop authorised to convey the Papal benediction, is certainly not in itself a very troublesome thing. But it is one well calculated to inspire respect for the Apostolic See and for the Vicar of Jesus Christ. Hence this being so momentous in the eyes of 'the faith,' the external act of veneration becomes the recognised means to the attainment of it. One cannot therefore be surprised that for this act, so simple in itself, the highest classes of indulgences are accorded." The ends for which the Church has permitted Indulgences to be granted are: the conversion of Infidels, the extirpation of heretics, and the exaltation of the Roman Church; so that, in order to receive an Indulgence, one must offer prayers for the extirpation of other confessions and the increase of the Latin Church. For example, similar prayers are formally prescribed to persons who desire to have the benefit of those Indulgences which are attached

to the crowns of our Lord, or to the chaplets and rosaries, as well as to all monks. These last on the fête day of their Order, after having confessed and communicated, should offer fervent prayers for the extirpation of heresy and schism, and for the exaltation of the Roman Church.

After having thus thoroughly explored the whole bearing of this doctrine of Indulgences, any one will easily understand why it is wont to rouse the indignation of men in general, and has done so since the twelfth century. It was these Indulgences which the Vaudois, Wickliffe, and Luther rejected with equal earnestness, and it is they too which proved the main occasion of the Reformation. We must not forget that up to the Council of Trent the Court of Rome trafficked in Indulgences in the most shameless manner, and that it is only the Reformation itself which has been able to effect any diminution of this traffic, and to give to it certain external forms, some less offensive. As a matter of fact the Court of Rome does not in the strictest sense of the word *sell* Indulgences, but she exacts money for them under the pretext of compensation for the labours and journeys of her agents when they make their expeditions to grant Indulgences ;—for the expenses which these agents are liable to on these occasions ;—for the

costs of forwarding Indulgences, which amounts gradually become more considerable, in spite of the diminution of the post, taxes, etc., which takes place day by day.

Landed proprietors in Poland availed themselves of such Indulgences in order to attract the people to their domains ; where, when the indulgence fêtes take place, bazaars and fairs are held.

Some of the inhabitants in the neighbourhood, though of the Greek faith, were misled by the attraction of these so-called prerogatives, of which the Church of Rome monopolising the possession was so lavish, and in their ignorance regarded these privileges as if they deserved recognition and respect.

7th. *Brotherhoods*. The original aim of the Spiritual Brotherhoods was purely *Christian*. Their members formed among themselves spiritual associations, professing as the ends and objects of their organisation :—the praise of God's name,—the maintenance of Churches,—the distribution of alms,—the burying of the dead,—the recital of prayers for the dead,—the reconciliation of people at variance with each other. The Brotherhoods fasted, confessed, and communicated oftener than the laity, and every day throughout their life, they addressed prayers

to the saint under whose name the Brotherhood existed. But, later, this was kept up rather for appearance' sake, than anything else, and the Brotherhoods were really occupied in active proselytism. This is why the Council of Trent, and the Bulls of Clement VIII. about the year 1604, encouraged the Bishops to institute Brotherhoods. They increased to such an extent, that at Rome alone one could count as many as one hundred Arch-brotherhoods, with which were affiliated many local ones.

Almost all the Brotherhoods were distributed among the different Monastic Orders; but only the chief of the Dominicans could institute Brotherhoods of the Rosary; to the General of the Carmelites belonged the power of establishing Brotherhoods of the Scapula. They were richly endowed with the power of granting Indulgences in connection with the most common acts of devotion, such as, for instance, the recitation of certain prayers; the visiting some specially designated church,—one you may be quite sure belonging to the Monastic Order to which the Brotherhood was attached,—the taking a prominent part in religious processions, a usage which the Roman Church carries to the extent of an abuse, or merely the carrying a certain visible badge, as for example a

scapula. Let us mention some specimens of this class of Indulgences. The members of the Brotherhoods of the Holy Sacrament gain ten years' Indulgence if on every Friday in the year they visit the Church of St. Mary, on the Minerva, at Rome. To the members of the Brotherhood of the Rosary, plenary Indulgence is granted, if, when dying, they hold in their hand a wax taper consecrated by the Director of the Brotherhood, that is to say a Dominican. Every member of the Brotherhood of the Scapula who dies with his scapula on, will be preserved from hell, and, when he dies enters purgatory; the Blessed Virgin descending there on the first Saturday after his death to deliver him. To the Roman theologians there exists no doubt at all as to the truth of this belief, for Pope John XXII. bore witness that the Blessed Virgin appeared to him and announced this privilege. A doctrine such as this speaks, it seems to us, sufficiently for itself, and requires no comment.

To increase as much as possible the *personnelle* of the Brotherhoods, the confessors are allowed the power of substituting for these services others still simpler, that is to say, services altogether insignificant. That which was necessary for Rome and her agents was, to enslave as many

of bigots and ignorant or superstitious worshippers living under Papal rule as possible. Let us see further with what class of Indulgence Mgr. Bouvier opens the gate of salvation ; it is thus that he expresses himself. “ After having spoken in detail of the advantages which one finds in Brotherhoods or societies, it would perhaps be as well to say how advantageous it is to belong to them. A great many people fear to enlist themselves as members, looking upon the saying of the customary prayers as onerous and irksome. St. Francis de Sales begged to be admitted into all the Brotherhoods or societies which he found regularly established ; giving as his reason that one could always gain by it and never lose. The fact is, that in order to have the right to the Indulgences, and to a share in the good works of the Brotherhood, there is in general no other condition enforced than that of being received, and accounting oneself a member of the Society or Brotherhood. From the moment of admission, all the good one does, whether it be obligatory or not, is united with the good works of all the associates, and acquires, in consequence, an extra value. Those practices in regard to which Indulgences are conceded, are only recommended for the general and indivi-

dual good, with the promise of special Indulgences attached to them. It is thus that for the Brotherhood of the Scapula it sufficed to wear with humility a small vestment symbolical of submission to the Blessed Virgin. Indulgences gained by reciting Litanies or other prayers are added to the ones attained by those who cheerfully wear the habit. Moreover the practices, required even by the Sovereign Pontiff, are not compulsory. When omitted, one failed in obtaining an Indulgence, but did not commit any sin, provided the omission was not from contempt. It follows, then, that it is no use to trouble oneself for having forgotten certain customary practices in order to gain Indulgences. Why such importance to these practices, that in order to fulfil one of them, certain necessary things be left undone to load oneself with an oppressive burden distasteful to piety. The main point was, after all, that these fraternities should be one of the most powerful arms of the Papacy and of the Propagand, based upon intolerance. And thus we see how it was that they were obliged to recite certain prayers for the extirpation of other Christian confessions; such as, for example, the Society for the Propagation of the Faith at Lyons, instituted expressly for that end; and the Society of the Distribution of

Good Books, established in 1825, at Bordeaux, which compelled its members to denounce to the Ordinary every bad book (a book not written in the proper Roman spirit); for which denunciation a forty days' Indulgence was promised.

In the west of Russia almost all the Monastic Orders had Brotherhoods attached to them under different denominations; at the building of each new church some Brotherhood was formed, so that towards the end of the reign of the Emperor Alexander I. one might count as many as 429; *all* collected money, and some possessed even funded property. The Jesuits have perhaps the most contributed to the increase of these societies; and their fraternities remained indeed after the expulsion of the Jesuit Body from Russia, and were annexed to other Churches. But these fraternities, maintaining the most strict and yet secret ties with the Monastic Orders and the clergy in general, served as the agents of the Jesuits in society at large; and, acting according to the direction which they received from them, dispersed throughout the whole country, mingling with all classes, and extending their influence with more facility, from the fact that their members wore no ecclesiastical dress, and not being suspected of self-interest, could make their way everywhere even in

places which ecclesiastics generally found difficult of access.

8th. Processions. This means of seduction is one most common in the Latin Church ; everywhere and at all times she has attracted followers by her external pomp, by the brilliancy of her ceremonies, and the splendour of her Episcopal offices ; for these ends, as well as on account of her frequent processions, many useless prelates and canons were supported ; and all this to dazzle the masses.

Under this head the jubilees, which were divided into ordinary and extraordinary, best fulfilled their purpose. *Ordinary Jubilees* were instituted by the Romish Church on the basis of the command in the Old Testament. "And ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof: it shall be a jubilee unto you." (Leviticus xxv. 10.) Until 1470 Rome sometimes used to celebrate the fiftieth, and at other times the thirty-third year ; but at this date the Jubilee began to be celebrated every twenty-five years. The *Jubilee Extraordinary* was granted at the exaltation of a new Pontiff. This fête consisted of :—the opening procession,—the confession,—the communion,—and the stations, that is, the visit

to churches expressly designated for that purpose. This last was an indispensable condition ; the Diocesan deciding on the four churches that any one must necessarily visit in one day, however fatigued he may be ; but rich people were readily permitted to go from one church to another in a carriage. During the Jubilee confessors possessed the fullest spiritual power,—such a power as they do not ordinarily enjoy, at least to the same extent ; they could grant absolution for such sins and penances as are ordinarily reserved exclusively to the Pope alone ; for instance, absolution from excommunication, from suspensions, as well as from particular mortal sins, etc. ; also the power of commuting vows, with the exception however of those of chastity and dedication to a religious life. Thus it is that all those who took part in the Jubilee, and who fulfilled the conditions enjoined, obtained plenary Indulgence. It is thus easy to imagine with what enthusiasm the mass of the people, at the call of Rome, hastened to these ceremonies, and how the clergy turn them to the profit of their own views and the consolidation of their own influence. In order to exalt these fêtes still higher in the eyes of the people, and (as the Roman theologians express themselves,) in order to excite feelings of devotion towards St. Peter and

St. Paul (in other terms, with the view of advancing the papal power), all independent Indulgences, of which as we have seen there are so great a number, were suspended during the time appointed for the Jubilee. That which was announced in 1824, and which began under the reign of Alexander I., was prolonged in some dioceses of the west of Russia until 1828. The Bull of the Pope on this subject proclaims an invitation to the faithful to make a journey to Rome in order to secure everlasting happiness,—(to quote the words of Jean Chrysostom, speaking of this city,) of gazing on the magnificence of its temples and monuments, the sacred objects there collected, the tomb and chains of the Apostles, the cradle of Jesus Christ, the instruments of His sufferings, etc., in a word all that could call forth emotion in the hearts of the devout. The Bull of 1824 was translated into the popular dialects; some especial Masses were celebrated in the provincial churches for a whole month, and in the district and village churches during two weeks. The curés preached and taught, moreover, that out of the Latin Church there was no salvation, and that all other confessions were damned. The people professing the Greek faith listened to this doctrine also, attracted by curio-

sity to see the solemn service, and were hence inclined towards Latinism, so that apostasies became so frequent and numerous that Roman ecclesiastics have justly designated the celebration of the Jubilee as their triumph.

We have here enumerated only the usual means for conversion : but properly speaking every act and custom was directed to the same end. Such is the spirit of the Romish Church. Were this conversion the effect of personal conviction, it might, in the same way as any other missionary effort, be justified, and by propagandists rank as respectably as any other profound conviction may claim to do, whether good or bad, regular or irregular, and would be held as an affair of conscience, honest and sincere. At times one ought or one must oppose such, but one cannot find grounds for reproach from the simple fact that another's opinion is not in accord with ours. But amongst the Latin clergy of the west of Russia proselytism was not an affair of conscience but of money ; the priest basing his conversions on the same grounds as those on which he read prayers, namely, as a result of his position : and therefore the clergy, as a body, were more occupied in external means than engaged in setting good examples or living holy lives.

Money and opulence, while elevating the position of the clergy in society, did not at all tend to draw them towards that religion to which they professedly belonged; and though it depraved their morals and enfeebled their faith, it allowed the number of parishes to increase, but the true spirit of religion waxed feeble.

The Latin clergy, besides the imposts which they habitually gathered from their parishes under the name of tithes and first fruits, possessed immense landed property on which more than a hundred thousand peasants were to be found, and those were very often members of the Greek faith, with considerable capital at their disposal. The administration of their property in serfs, and the management of their land, showed no evidence of a religious spirit animating them; and a like system on the part of the nuns appeared if possible stranger still. It is thus that ecclesiastical property fell into so ruinous a state. Very often Ecclesiastics without thinking of the future, ruined the peasants, increased their taxes, overburdened them with work to such an extent, that they sometimes had not a single day in the week left for themselves; they persecuted them, and exacted services out of all reason, so that some of the peasants fled from

the land; the poverty of the peasants of White Russia was so severe, that in time of dearth they were obliged to eat rotten wood. The clergy managed their own estates, or entrusted them to agents, often appointing their own relations to these functions. Not being content with their incomes, they incurred debts, they expended the money of the Church, and maintained their relations at its expense. It happened also that the heads of the convents, being changed every three years, enriched themselves without troubling about the maintenance of the edifices, and having collected money for the celebration of holy rites, spent it upon their own personal necessities, so that the rites were not celebrated at all. Some Bishops indeed arbitrarily disposed of the ecclesiastical lands. The Government interfered neither with the administration or condition of the Church lands, nor the use of the revenues which were received from it; but nevertheless saw itself compelled, in consequence of the reiterated complaints which reached it against ecclesiastical abuses, to forbid forthwith the sale and exchange of ecclesiastical lands, which in spite of the positive conditions of these properties imposed by the will of the founders, was often done, and, in 1822 forbade the raising the least loan on their lands

without express authority. The Department of Public Worship defended in every way the ecclesiastical proprietors in the lawsuits which private individuals brought against them, and the clergy gained several causes solely by the intercession of Prince Galitzen.* Thus, even in this respect, the higher Governmental powers adapted themselves very conveniently to the clergy. In leaving them at full liberty to dispose of ecclesiastical property, according to their own fancy, the Government seemed only placed there to defend them against all private claims, claims not always groundless. But this did not really profit the clergy; in the peaceful ease beyond which nothing troubled them, they forgot only too soon their duties towards the Church and towards their sheep.

The ecclesiastical funds were very rarely placed in banks, but were generally entrusted for an indefinite time, and at a much higher rate of interest than that of the bank, to some private persons, and to those who wanted mortgage on their lands. The interest was paid very irregularly, and sometimes not at all; often even the capital was lost, it might be entirely, or it might be in part. According to the tenor of the Lithuanian statute, which was then observed in the west of Russia, that pro-

perty guaranteed for the debts of insolvent debtors, was submitted to a partition at the hands of the creditors, and was called *ex division*. This *ex division* was often the cause of losses to the clergy, as private creditors frequently united in appropriating to themselves some of the best parts of the divided property, and the guarantee of the ecclesiastical capital was then transferred to the remainder of the land ; this remainder not always corresponding to the sum borrowed. As much of the ecclesiastical capital was subjected to this *ex division*, the loss which resulted from it was considerable, and proves that ecclesiastics disposed of the floating capital of the Church as badly as they administered its funded property.

Having at its disposal material means as important still, the clergy did not cease to address to the government and to the Emperor himself requests for supplies and money for the building of new churches, and for the repairing of the old edifices, which did not possess any funds, for founding ecclesiastical establishments, maintaining priests, and supporting old men of the priestly class, etc. This resulted from the unequal re-division of the property of the Church ; inasmuch as some churches and monasteries were immensely rich, others were extremely poor, and the clergy

never thought of sacrificing their resources for the general good of the Church. In all justice it must be granted that Siestrenczewicz alone placed her interests far above any private interests of the egotists of the diocese, above the sordid calculations of the ecclesiastical proprietors; and during his whole life he did not cease to preach the necessity of forming a common capital to meet ecclesiastical wants.

In 1819 he considered that this capital should not exceed a certain sum; that it could be easily raised upon the superfluous revenues of many churches and monasteries; and that, moreover, the utility of such a measure had been for a long time justified by the example of a similar one in the established Church. On this occasion the idea of the Metropolitan was approved by the Emperor; the ecclesiastical college was deputed to present a plan for the execution of this project, and in 1822 the foundation of a subsidiary fund was laid. This capital was formed out of a minimum annual tax on the secular clergy alone (the regular clergy, who were the richest, having refused to bear their share), it was to be deposited intact at the Imperial Loan Bank, and the interest alone was to furnish the necessary relief.

During the following reign, other accidental and casual revenues were added to this capital, and it was only then that, thanks to the solicitude and care of the minister of public worship, Count Bloudoff, this capital was completely organised; it is by him also that the regulation according to which the grants out of this fund were to be made was drawn up.

After having examined the state of the Latin clergy under the reign of the Emperor Alexander, the means at their disposal, their relations with the diocesan authority and with the government, we must revert to the system established for them, and the objects of the relations with the Court of Rome on the subject of ecclesiastical affairs, which relations we have only treated hitherto in their bearing upon the extension of Episcopal power.

The fundamental law of the Empress Catherine, that no relations with foreign authorities should be allowed to take place without the cognisance of the government, was preserved in full force under the Emperor Alexander, and in cases of infraction it was solemnly enforced. But in reality this principle was continually violated; the religious Orders secretly corresponded with their generals; the Bishops were drawn into direct relations with

different congregations in Rome ; some Polish lords travelling in Italy bought different Indulgences for the Churches situated on their lands. These cases of infraction multiplied, especially after the restoration of the Pope in 1814 ; very often the Court of Rome sent to ascertain some particulars of expenses, which did not come to the knowledge of the ministry (in whose department it was) till long after the inquiry had been in the hands of the clergy. This proceeded not from the ignorance of the Roman authorities, or from the difficulties of corresponding through the established agencies, but because the Court of Rome would not submit to this particular statute of the Government, established not in Russia only, but even in some Catholic countries, which had learned by experience that, without the control of the government, the papal power would exceed the limits which every well organised society assigns to the influence of the clergy on the affairs of its members.

The political interests which connect Russia with the Court of Rome are but of secondary importance. She has never sought and has no need of establishing any material rule in Italy, as is the case with Austria and with France ; for affairs with Italy do not engage Russian policy, nor have they for us that importance which they have for

Austria, which has subdued a great part of that country, or to France, which would be, as a matter of course, opposed to the further advance of that power in the Peninsula. Russia could only support the political views of one or other of these two powers.

The Russian Mission at Rome then has not so much to occupy itself with political affairs, as with the means of aiding and advancing the relations of the Roman Catholics of the Russian empire and of the kingdom of Poland with the head of their Church, where their spiritual wants could not be satisfied otherwise than by the Holy See itself. At the request of the bishops and other ecclesiastical authorities, the ministry of public worship would therefore pass on all applications to them to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, who, in his turn, would charge the Russian Legation at Rome to obtain the required authority to be transmitted back again by the same method. But Rome continued to act as in the past, and this is why remonstrances were made to the Holy See on account of these irregularities, incompatible as they were with the rules adopted by the Russian Government; the Cabinet of the Vatican *promised* to avoid henceforth any departure from the established order, but constantly failed to fulfil this

promise. In 1821, after the occurrence of a similar case, Cardinal Consalvi, having expressed to the Russian Minister his deep regret at what had just happened, gave him to understand that he found it almost impossible to prevent this irregularity in future; and explained it by admitting that the Cardinal Secretary of State had not sufficient authority over the chiefs of the different congregations, fanatical, self-interested, and covetous of power as they were.

The Briefs sent from Rome often contained provisions which could not even be tolerated, still less practically fulfilled in Russia. Some of them were inserted merely from custom, on account of common usage, or from the most simple formality; others, on the contrary, with premeditation, with the intent of attributing to Rome, and that by something more than a mere paper agreement, the right of interfering in the affairs of State.

Thus, for example, in the Bulls of consecration of the Bishops, it was often prescribed that they should send missionaries to draw infidels into the Romish Church, and to exterminate heresies, to which end they were granted beforehand absolution from all sins; by these letters the Bishops were permitted in opposition to the Council

of Trent to hold several benefices at once. If provisions of this kind were contained in the briefs themselves, a recommendation to the Bishop was sent on, suggesting that he should not avail himself of this power; but if they were found in the epistles annexed to the Brief, these additions were kept back and deposited among the archives of the minister of public worship. In general all papal authorizations, inserted in the Briefs, were only permitted in so far as they were not contrary to the laws of the empire. Now, it was more than natural that the Russian Government should not permit that its Christian subjects should be converted to the Latin Church by Roman missionaries, as if they were idolaters. The Emperor of Russia, as well as other sovereigns, could not recognise the interference of the Pope in temporal affairs, such as the distribution of benefices in the empire. In these last cases it was reserved to the Bishops themselves to solicit an increase in the provision made, or the preservation of a benefice; their presentations were examined by the college, the ministry of public worship, and at length by a committee of ministers, and if their titles were recognised as valid, the matter was submitted to the confirmation of the Emperor, "so that the Roman Catholic clergy might know (as the Admiral Shishkoff one day ex-

pressed it) that the distribution of the revenues does not at all depend on a foreign power but entirely on the will of the monarch."

The Court of Rome tried also to change the form of the oath of allegiance laid down by the Empress Catherine on the occasion of the elevation of Mgr. Siestrenczewicz to the dignity of Archbishop, as agreed upon by Pope Pius VI. In the Briefs received in 1814, relating to the nomination of Mackiewicz as diocesan Bishop, and of the Prince Pouzyna and of Masclet as suffragans, an oath was inserted which obliged the persecution of those who were not within the pale of the Roman Church, and would not recognise the supremacy of the Pope; besides, they were bound not to dispose of the property of the Church otherwise than with the authority of the Holy See; while the passage so essential, which concluded the formula of the oath prescribed by the Empress Catherine (that the obligation that one owes the Holy Father cannot supersede the duties of the subject) was simply omitted. It was added in the same Briefs: "If any Bishop proceed to consecrate to the offices under-mentioned without the candidates having sworn according to the form actually established, and if the individuals consecrated consent to it, the Bishop who shall have consecrated

them, as well as those who shall allow themselves to be so consecrated, are liable to excommunication."

It is evident that this clause was introduced with premeditation, with the view of changing the form of oath established by Catherine, which had always displeased the Court of Rome, weeded as it was of fanaticism and anathemas against other Christian professions. Let us remember that this change was projected by a Pope, who owed to the intervention of a Sovereign of the Greek Church that he could return to his capital, Rome, after being driven from it by a Roman Catholic Emperor. The ministerial committee threw aside these Briefs, and caused them to be sent back to the Court of Rome, requiring that they should be modified. The Holy See consented to omit these passages, not less useless than injurious to the other Christian confessions; and Cardinal Consalvi made this excuse, that these errors arose from the inexperience of the employé who had written them, and that the archives which had to be consulted were still in Paris.

It is especially after the accession of Leo XII. to the pontifical throne that the Holy See manifested a tendency eminently fanatical. In his Bull

of May 3rd, 1824, this Pope, while announcing to the Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops, and Bishops, his election, declared that religious tolerance is only the consequence of a false philosophy ; that all the disorders and all the unhappinesses of Christianity are produced by a lack of respect for the authority of the Church, of that Church which recognises in the person of the Pope the true successor of the Apostle St. Peter. "On this throne of unity (it is said in the Bull) has God planted the doctrine of truth, and He will not be a father to him who will not recognise in this Church his Mother." This Bull, which excited the members of the Roman Church against all other confessions, was not accepted in Russia. "We must be on the alert (Admiral Shishkoff wrote on this occasion) to see what the spiritual authority of the Pope is, and what, too, are the limits by which it must be circumscribed."

In this manner the boundaries of the papal authority, drawn up by the Empress Catherine, remained unaltered under the Emperor Alexander, who also preserved the same dignity in his relations with the Court of Rome. In this respect the difference between the two reigns consists in this, that Catherine did everything *proprio motu*,—after

her own sovereign will, only leaving open to the Holy See the power, whensoever it judged it suitable to employ it, of investing the resolutions of her cabinet with those peculiar forms which were in favour at the chanceries of the Papal Court. The Emperor Alexander, on the contrary, thinking thus to discharge the canonical prescriptions, believed it necessary not to undertake anything without a previous authorisation from Rome. From the preceding, one is able to judge which of the two systems harmonises the best with the essence of true civil government, and which is really the most useful for the Church itself.

For every Episcopal Bull one has to pay at Rome rather dearly. For example, a suffragan had to pay nearly five hundred roubles. For some little time after the return of Pope Pius VII. to Rome, the cabinet of the Vatican did not seek to increase its revenues by means of first fruits. It was entirely taken up in restoring the rights that had been infringed upon; of establishing some general uniform principles, especially reserving this for the future, and for circumstances more propitious to its ulterior development. But under Pope Leo XII., when the number of Cardinals had augmented, and for the most part were supported at the expense of the Holy See, the

ministry of the Pope, desiring to economise the local administration, endeavoured at the same time to establish a system of taxation in different countries; reviving taxes which had been abolished by the Revolution; the augmentation of the rate for the Episcopal Bulls, and contemplated even re-introducing "first fruits," very oppressive for the clergy, and at the same time issuing claims to a third of all the diocesan revenues of the Catholic world.

At this period M. Italinsky, Russian Minister at Rome, thought it well to establish some normal conditions on the subject of the duties to be paid for the Episcopal Bulls, and concluded a bargain very advantageous, if one compares it with what some other powers had paid; nominally, the Bulls were taxed as follows: that of an Archbishop thirteen hundred and forty roubles (a thousand Roman scudi); that of a Bishop one thousand and seventy-two roubles (eight hundred scudi); and that of a Suffragan Bishop, appointed *in partibus*, one hundred and twenty roubles, sixty copecks (ninety scudi). Austria and Hanover paid almost double.

The relations of the cabinet of St. Petersburg with the Court of Rome for ecclesiastical affairs, were confined, generally speaking, to three objects,

for which one must have the consent of the Holy See: First, for the consecration of the Bishops; secondly, for the dispensing from monastic vows; thirdly, for the permission of marriage within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity. The two last points concerned only the private individuals, for whom the Russian Legation at Rome was only employed as mediator; the obtaining the consent of the Holy See for the consecration of the Bishops formed, properly speaking, the chief affair of the State.

This religious ceremony was only the confirmation by the Church of the will of the Russian Emperors, who, since the establishment of the Latin dioceses in Russia, nominated the Bishops at their own good pleasure by ukases. During half a century there was only one single case where the Pope did not give his consent to the consecration of a Bishop: that was in 1816, on the occasion of the nomination of Canon Labounsky by the Emperor to the dignity of Suffragan of Zytomir. Under the reign of the Empress Catherine, before the entry of the Russian troops into Poland, 1794, Labounsky was chosen by Mgr. Siestrenczewicz as chaplain to the army; he took part at a later period in a Polish confederation, was then persecuted in the revolution at Warsaw, lost all his fortune, and was

grievously wounded. At the solicitation of Souwaroff, the Empress had him elected as canon of the Chapter of Wilna, and, from 1813 to 1816, he was assessor of the College. Thus his preceding activity and his high position in the ecclesiastical hierarchy gave him some titles for the episcopacy; but his political adversaries began to intrigue against him at Rome; to these later the Jesuits joined themselves, who objected to Labounsky that he enjoyed the favour of the Metropolitan, and that he had officiated in his private chapel.

These intrigues acted so powerfully on the Pope, that he peremptorily refused to sanction the nomination; he wrote himself a letter to the Emperor, in which he explained that he could not consent to it, as Labounsky, according to the opinion he pronounced, was a man "lost in reputation." Some negotiations followed, but in 1820 the Emperor ordered an end to be put to the discussion, and granted the dignity to Labounsky that he had at first conferred on him, and he retained this dignity to the day of his death in 1831.

Thus the power of the emperors of Russia did not bend before the arbitrary will of the Popes; there were in fact very few cases where the Court

of Rome had been able to make use of its powerful influence. In revenge, the Holy See did not cease to assert its importance by different formalities which preceded the consecration of the Bishops. At first, the most detailed information about the persons designated for this dignity was secretly collected, so that when consent was given to the consecration, the whole biography of the selected ecclesiastic was known; after this, according to established customs, he had to go through what we call the canonical process by the hands of one of the Bishops.

In the "canonical process" different questions were raised as to the kind of life and the services rendered to the Church by the newly-elected Bishop; one or many who knew him personally answering these questions. All this ceremony is merely a formality which avails nothing, but the Court of Rome adhered to it, in order to let the ecclesiastic feel, impatient as he probably was, that the accomplishment of his desires depended upon the Holy See, and upon it alone. First of all one should obtain from Rome the permission to go through the canonical process; then the prescription necessary to that effect; then comes the process itself, which has been sent to Rome to be examined there, and at length the

authorising Brief arrives for the consecration. All this generally took some months, nay, sometimes even years ; and during all these delays the Church remained without a chief pastor, solely in order that the ambitious system of the Court of Rome might be literally carried out.

If the Russian Government seldom had need of the co-operation of the Court of Rome, the Pope, on the contrary, often had recourse to the generous protection of the Emperor Alexander in the political affairs of his provinces. It was apparently with the intent of pleasing the Emperor that Pope Pius VII. sent, in 1814, a Brief, in which he recommended to the Roman Catholics of Russia the most entire submission to the Emperor. Forwarding this Brief to the Metropolitan, the Prince Galitzen thus wrote to him : “ His Imperial Majesty desires that you do not communicate the contents of the Brief, which Pope Pius VII. has addressed to you, bearing date of July 29th, 1814, except exclusively to the Catholic clergy, as the knowledge of its contents need not be conveyed to the other classes of society belonging to the Roman rite, inasmuch as His Majesty had no doubt that in Russia the clergy, as well as the other classes of the Catholic confession (pervaded, as all the subjects of the Emperor were, without

distinction of religion, with sentiments of gratitude for the care of the government, and guided by their oath of fidelity), had no need whatever to be encouraged in the fulfilment of their duties by the Pope of the Roman Church."

Though the Russian Government did not permit the Court of Rome to interfere in the internal affairs of the Empire, yet not only did it not oppose itself to the legal procedures required by the necessities of ecclesiastical subordination such as must necessarily exist between the Catholics and the chief of their Church, but it even watched that these proceedings were not infringed upon. For instance, at the death of Pope Pius VII., in 1823, it was decreed that prayers should be said for the deceased Pontiff in all the Catholic Churches of the Empire; the Metropolitan and the Bishops sent letters of congratulation to Pope Leo XII., newly elected. In 1822 the Emperor ordered Lindl to be expelled; he was Superior of the Catholic Church at Odessa, had been invited from Bavaria, and had preached doctrine not in conformity with the dogmas of the Catholic Church. In 1823, the Bavarian priest Langenmeyer was refused permission to enter Russia, although he had been offered the place of chaplain and of Professor of French Literature, for having propounded in

his letter some convictions incompatible with the character of a Priest. In 1824, the Catholic priest Gosner was banished St. Petersburg for having published a work contrary to the dogmas of the Romish Church, under the title "*L'Evangile selon Saint Mathieu.*" In this manner the Russian Government tried to preserve the Catholic Church itself from the heresies intruding into it, but did not at the same time permit the Court of Rome to interfere with any arrangements.

A formal remonstrance was made to the Russian minister at Rome, for having accepted from the Cabinet of the Vatican a confidential note, in which he was asked for the displacement of Lindl from his cure. Prince Galitzen wrote on this subject to Count Nesselrode: "Up to the present time the Court of Rome has never interfered in parochial affairs, having neither the means nor the possibility of directing them or of filling the vacant cures. An unchangeable law has always existed in Russia, that the Diocesan Bishops should only address themselves to his Holiness in those cases in which a power beyond their own was demanded, in which case they ought not to seek voluntarily a superfluous dependence; this rule has been repeated and received by that will, which makes the supreme force of

law. After all these considerations, it seems to me that Privy Councillor Italinsky ought to have discarded the questions and suppositions of the Court of Rome, in an affair which immediately depended on the Diocesan Bishops, without putting the government in the embarrassing position of being obliged to refuse pretensions tending to increase the influence of the Holy See in the ecclesiastical affairs of the Empire ; infringing the order established, and to which the Court of Rome conformed up to this time."

The Metropolitan had intended sending the Pope his account of the removal of Lindl, and had even prepared the paper. After having read it, Prince Galitzen explained to Monsieur Siestrenczewicz the false interpretation that one might give to such a letter : " This letter," he writes, " may suggest the idea that the resolutions on the subject of Lindl were in consequence of the steps taken by Cardinal Somaglia. As I have informed your eminence that the intercession of the Cardinal has been quite useless, and that the Imperial order on the subject of the abovementioned priest has proceeded in consequence of his petition, received even before the letter of the Cardinal Somaglia, I consider it my duty to ask you beforehand if it would not be more convenient

to change the tenor of your letter, so as that it should not give material for a conclusion scarcely conformable with the development of the affair and the nature of the decision." And this advice the Metropolitan followed.

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CHAPTER XIV.

 THE ARMENIAN AND THE GREEK CHURCHES IN
 THEIR CONNECTION WITH THE ROMAN CHURCH
 IN THE REIGN OF THE EMPEROR ALEXANDER.

The measures prescribed by the Empress Catherine concerning the United-Armenian Church not executed.—Creation of a United-Armenian Bishop.—Kristofowitch nominated Bishop in 1810-16.—Intentions of Rome in the creation of a special administration for the United-Armenian Church.—Uselessness of an Armenian Diocese.—Canon Warterissowicz administrator of the Diocese, from 1816-22.—Demand of Rome for the creation of a second United-Armenian Archbishopric in Georgia in 1814.—Latin Propaganda among the Armenians.—Antoine Pouradiane.—Prince Cicianoff demands the subordination of the missionaries of the Caucasus to the authority of a Roman Bishop, 1803.—General Yermoloff renews this demand, 1823.—The Armenian Episcopacy spontaneously collapses.—Canon Moshoro.—The United-Greek Church.—Submission of this Church to the Latin Hierarchy.—Conversion of the United-Greeks to Catholicism.—The United-Greeks implore the protection of the Government against the persecutions of the Roman Catholics, 1803.—Plaidoyer de Lissowsky, United-Greek Archbishop, favours them.—The delegates of the United-Greek Clergy admitted to a seat in the Roman Ecclesiastical College, 1804.—The administration of the United-Greek clergy devolves on a special department of the Ecclesiastical College, 1805.—Archbishop Lissowsky president of the United-Greek department.

—He is raised to the dignity of Metropolitan, 1806-1809.—The Metropolitan Lissowsky tries to restore the United-Greek Church to its primitive organisation.—New arrangement of boundaries of the United-Greek Dioceses.—Establishment of a new Metropolitan Diocese, 1809.—The Bishop Kohanowicz nominated Metropolitan, 1810-14.—He follows the system of his predecessors.—Struggle with the Basilians.—State of the Order of the Basilians.—Antagonism between the Basilians and the secular United-Greek Clergy.—The Latin Clergy forbidden to convert the United-Greeks, 1807-10.—The Basilians no longer venture to receive the Roman Catholics into their Order, 1810.—After the death of Kohanowicz, the Metropolitan See remains vacant for three years, 1814-1817.—Bishop Boulhak nominated Metropolitan, 1817.—He protects the Basilians.—The secular United-Greek Clergy present a complaint against the Basilians for persecution.—The Basilians succeed in isolating the Archbishop Krassowsky, who maintains the cause of the lower Clergy.—The trial, 1821-23.—The department of public worship recognises the injurious tendency of the Basilians, 1822.—Decline of the Order of the Basilians.—The comparative state of the United-Greek Clergy in Austria and in Russia.—Poverty of the lower Clergy,—Seminaries.—The trying position of the United-Greek Bishops.—The Union can scarcely maintain itself.

It now remains for us to glance at the state of the two Churches united to the Latin Church: the United-Armenian and the United-Greek, during the reign of the Emperor Alexander.

With the view of freeing the United-Armenians from submission to foreign authority, and in order to avoid the entry of ecclesiastical strangers into Russia, the Empress Catherine ordered, as we have seen, that schools should be established to train the Armenian-United clergy; and until

these were opened, to send the clergy of this rite to the Academy of Lvoff; not tolerating that the missionaries of Georgia should depend on the Propaganda, she subordinated them to the Diocesan, that is to say to the Archbishop of Mohileff, to whose authority in ecclesiastical matters she referred all the United-Armenians. By these measures Russian subjects were, in their ecclesiastical relations, delivered from a foreign yoke, and the Armenian Church thus preserved its autonomy.

Unhappily the ideas of the Empress were not put in execution, and later on the fundamental principles of her plan of organisation for that Church were entirely changed. The schools for the Armenian clergy were not founded; no clergy were sent to the Academy of Lvoff; the missionaries refusing all obedience to the Ordinary, remained under the immediate direction of the Propaganda; from 1806, the United-Armenians had no relation with the Metropolitan; Kristofowicz (consecrated Bishop in 1810 at Lvoff,) was nominated United-Armenian Bishop; his seat was fixed at Mohileff on the Dniester.

We have seen that Rome had for a long time made advances to establish a special Diocesan organisation for the Armenians, subject to her,

in order that they might be merged in those Dioceses which were, strictly speaking, Roman Catholic, and this was only natural. Moreover, by this means she obtained a Diocese more in Russia, which was in perfect accordance with her system, for that See always opened a door whereby the Gregorian Armenians might be brought over to Catholicism; and this rule of conduct was followed with regard to the United-Greeks. In fact, if the ecclesiastical authority over this branch of the Armenian Church had been vested in a Roman Catholic Bishop, the United Armenians would have merged little by little into a purely Catholic body, the end at which the Latin clergy, eager for proselytism, aimed. The Armenian Catholic Church would have ceased to exist, though the direct conversion of the Gregorian Armenians to Catholicism would have presented much greater difficulties than their transition to rites, which, derived from the ancient religious ceremonies, were familiar to them, total strangers as they were to the Roman Ritual. The Latin clergy would have certainly made a merit of this increase in their flock; and for the Armenians it would have been more reasonable to have sacrificed some apostates in their ranks, by putting an end to the Latin Propaganda organised systematically

among them. There was not therefore any absolute necessity to establish a united Armenian Diocese. The Armenian Archbishop of Lvoff could, as formerly, consecrate the Priests; the United-Armenian Churches were so few in number that there were scarcely enough to sanction the formation of a Bishopric. Taking into account the immense tract, from the frontier of Galicia, across the Governments of Podolia, Volhynia, from New Russia to Astrakan, and the whole length of the Caucasus, there were only eighteen Churches; in the west of Russia where the Episcopal Seat was established, one could only reckon in all a thousand Armenians of the Latin rite; in Georgia and at Kontais five hundred and sixty-five families. The imperfection of this new hierarchy was practically visible; during the lapse of thirteen years, neither the foundation of any seminaries, nor the organisation of a consistory, was effected by Episcopal influence. The United-Armenian Churches of Odessa, Kherson, and Nicolaeff, were served, not by Armenian Priests of the Latin rite, but by Roman Catholic curates; the Churches of Balta and Rachkowo, on the confines of New Russia, counted among the Armenian Churches, had for their parishioners Roman Catholics, and acknowledged the Catholic Bishop of Kamience;

the missionaries of the Propaganda and the Jesuits continued their residence in the centre of Russia and at the Caucasus; in spite of the ukase that expelled the Jesuits from Russia, they had never quitted these provinces. The Armenian Catholic Bishop had only to administer to six or seven Churches in the governments of Podolia, Volhynia, the Crimea, and Astrakan. Thus, seven churches, for the most part poor, without chapels, without a consistory, without a seminary, with Roman Catholic Priests and with Armenian Churches of which the parishioners were of the Roman Catholic religion,—such was the character of the Bishopric under which the United-Armenians existed. The chief aim that the ministry of worship had in establishing this Bishopric,—if indeed there was any fixed aim,—was the civilization of the United-Armenian clergy in Russia; and, not only was this aim not attained, but any real measure for its success was not even taken. Missionaries continued to arrive from Austria and from Venetia during the reign of the Emperor Alexander, and they remained in the trans-Caucasian Provinces up to 1845. In 1816, Bishop Kristofowicz died, and there was no one to replace him, for the pretended chapter was composed only of two Canons, and neither of them would

accept this dignity. Instead of a Bishop Canon Warterissowicz was nominated administrator of the Diocese, a function which he filled up to the time of his death, at the close of the year 1822. The administrator had not the right, as every one knew, of ordaining Priests, for he himself was not consecrated Bishop; besides this, if there had been among these United-Armenians any candidates prepared for the Priesthood, they would necessarily have to present themselves at Lvoff, to receive, as was the custom in the time of the Empress Catherine, their priestly qualifications at that seminary. The erection of a United-Armenian Diocese was therefore of no use, and could only be explained by the lack of exact local knowledge. Thus the ministry of public worship, during the whole reign of the Emperor Alexander, had no notion whatever about the missionaries sent by the Propaganda; or of the number of the churches and of the inhabitants of the United-Armenian rite in the Caucasus and other places.

All this, however, did not satisfy the Court of Rome. In 1814 the Nuncio at Vienna solicited, through the medium of the Russian ambassador, Count Stackelberg, that, in addition to the Armenian Catholic Bishopric already existing in Russia, a second should be established in Georgia;

that the see should be at Tiflis, and that the Latin Armenians of Tiflis, of Imérétia, and of Mingrelia should form a part of it. Paul-David Skioulanty, a Georgian by birth, was proposed as Bishop. He had been brought up a member of a Romish congregation, and was in consequence perfectly prepared for the work of proselytism. The Nuncio pretended that in Georgia there was a large number of Armenians of the Latin rite who were destitute of Priests. One may judge of the truth of the assertion by this, that in 1814 there were in the whole of Georgia, only two parish churches of this confession, the one at Tiflis, the other at Kehéliansk; and four hundred and fifty-eight Armenians in all; we therefore seek for what number of parishes Rome judged it necessary to establish a diocese; but this suggestion of the Nuncio's was not attended to.

These intrigues, like the continual sending of missionaries to the Caucasus, tended only to shake the ancient Armenian Church by forced conversions. On the side of the acknowledged Propagandists, men who acted with prudence, and contented themselves with gradual gains, there were some who, reticent as well as bold, designed nothing less than the subjugation of the whole Armenian

Church to the supremacy of the Pope. A particular case, which we scarcely think superfluous to mention here, may be given in evidence. During the reign of the Empress Catherine, one Antoine Poradiane was nominated curé of the United-Armenian Church of Mozdoc; he remained there until 1801, when he started on a pilgrimage to the Holy Places. After his return from thence, he established himself at Astrakan; there he was accused of many irregularities, and sent, in 1805, to the Armenian convent of Agbad, to perform penance. The Armenian Gregorian Patriarch, Ephrem, having learned that Pouradiane was skilled in medicine, took him with him to the convent of Ararat; Pouradiane having ingratiated himself with the Patriarch, who was an invalid, ostensibly changed his religion, that is to say, from United-Armenian, he become Gregorian-Armenian, and as such was raised to the Archbishopric of Kars and of Akhalcik.

At a later time brought to trial in Russia for different crimes, he answered the questions put to him by order of the Emperor, "that in reality he had never abandoned the Roman Catholic Religion, but that he had merely pretended to do so, in the hope of drawing the Patriarch, and with him the Armenian people, to

acknowledge the Fourth Œcumenical Council of Chalcedon, and afterwards the supremacy of the Pope." Not having succeeded in his design, Pouradiane, after having plundered his diocese, fled to Constantinople, where he was very well received by the Nuncio, Archbishop Coresi; from thence he betook himself to Liban near to Gregory, the United-Armenian Patriarch, who acknowledged him for an Armenian Catholic, and confirmed him in his dignity of Archbishop.

About 1803 Prince Cicianoff, commander-in-chief of the army of the Caucasus, represented to the Emperor the necessity of bringing the missionaries into subjection to the authority of a Roman Catholic Bishop, and in case that they did not consent to terminate their relation with the Propaganda, to remove them entirely from the country, and replace them by young monks of the Capuchin Order,—Russian subjects, who, after having learned the Georgian language, could easily in time occupy the ground. Twenty years later General Zermoloff repeated this request; but no attention was paid either to the one or to the other; the missionaries continued their work of conversion free from all impediments, and received a pecuniary honorarium for their service.

At the death of the administrator Warterissovicz,

in 1822, the Bishopric of the United-Armenian Church collapsed spontaneously; Warterissovicz had never been canonically confirmed; Kristofowicz was alone consecrated Bishop. In reality this Bishopric with seven churches, without any organized chapter, without any consistory, without a seminary, could not exist. The missionaries, under the guidance of the Propaganda, continued to administer the trans-Caucasian Churches of this rite; the Churches in Russia which were temporarily administered by the United-Armenian Canon, Moshoro, depended on the ecclesiastical college.

The submission of the United-Greek Church to the Latin Church under the Emperor Paul, had deplorable consequences for the union. It was completely subjugated, in every sense of the term, by Catholicism. The United-Greek ecclesiastics, deprived of all independence, and of all appeal to the government, began to be regarded as Roman clergy, or rather as something below them, to such an extent, that the Metropolitan Siestrencewicz made directly on his own authority, his presentations to the Court of Rome, for nominations to the dignities of United Greek Bishoprics, a step which he had no right to take even in reference to the Latin clergy. The Catholics perceived that the union had become impos-

sible, that it had lasted two centuries only because the Polish government had sustained it by stringent coercive measures, but that if once it formed a part in a State belonging to the Greek rite, the United-Greeks would no longer be able to remain under the dominion of the Pope. Conversions so rapid and so extensive under the Empress Catherine must have convinced them still more of the inevitable issue of a spurious religion forced upon its members by fraud and violence. Alarmed at this religious tendency, and having in its hands the administration of the United-Greeks, the Latin clergy reckoned, not without reason, that the course for preserving them to the Church of Rome was to convert them at once to Catholicism. This is why, in interpreting according to their own manner the decision of the Emperor Paul, on the subject of the United-Greeks, the Latins spread the report that the government had abolished the union, and that all those who professed this religion were forced to pass over to the ruling Church; that in consequence, the Greeks being deprived of their religious ceremonies, must necessarily become Catholics. In order to assure the success of this subterfuge it was, above all, requisite that the Greek Priests should adopt this plan. "The United-Greek people" (says a contemporary of these events)

“ have no idea of that in which the difference consists between “ Orthodoxy ” and “ Union,” so they always profess the religion to which their Priests belong.” In order to coerce the Priests of the United-Greek into submission, the Roman Catholic curates employed the agency of the proprietors, who threatened the poor ecclesiastics, in case they did not become Catholic, to deprive them, not only of their cures, but even of their small livelihood, that is to say, of their daily bread,—of their only resources ; but if they consented to change their religion, in that case they should constantly receive support and assistance for their domestic wants. Some unhappy Priests having families, decided on accepting the Catholic rite, and persuaded their parishioners to follow their example, while the proprietors on their side, forbade the peasants to exercise their own belief under pain of punishment. But in spite of threats of punishment and violence, the Catholics would not have succeeded in their fanatical enterprise, if they had not had recourse to fraud. The United-Greeks were attached to such an extent to the ceremonies of the Greek Church, that if left to themselves they would never have decided on forsaking them altogether. The Catholic clergy arrogated to themselves the right of offering a con-

ciliatory course ; and merely introduced some ceremonies into the Liturgy and the Azymes ; all the other ceremonies were preserved in the same condition as before, so that baptism, the celebration of marriages, burials, and other sacred offices were not changed, and were celebrated in the Sclavonic tongue, but they felt no shame in calling those who professed a religion such as this, Catholics ; —a manifest and profound incongruity with the fundamental principles of the Romish doctrine, that the end justifies the means, when these means even consist in disfiguring the religion for the propagation of which they are employed ! But to produce an apostacy like this they had no other means. To deprive the United-Greek population of its Priests was impossible, for the people would never have accepted the Latin vicars, and the United-Greek Priests were not acquainted either with the Roman ceremonies or with the Latin language, and if even they had been acquainted with them, they would never have resolved on introducing the Romish rite universally. One of the most efficacious inducements held out to the United-Greek peasants for their conversion to the Latin religion, was the insinuation of the Roman Priests that they should not have to observe the fasts of St. Peter, St. Philip, nor of our Saviour.

At first the apostacies were confined to solitary examples; later they comprised whole villages, and at length entire parishes; on these occasions the Catholics took from the United-Greeks their churches, with the church property. The fanatic Czantyr, who was provisionally director of the diocese of Mohileff employed all his activity in this business. In 1802 he declared to the clergy under his orders that the Emperor Paul had authorised the conversion of the United-Greeks to Catholicism, *as the Union could not exist*, and that it should be abolished.

The United-Greeks began to look for support and protection to the government; the keystone of their power, Archbishop Krassoffsky came, in 1803, to St. Petersburg, and, during two years was occupied in proposing measures and urging pleas in their favour. The principal authority of the government, the local Russian clergy, and all impartial people confirmed the justice of the complaints brought by the United-Greeks, and the Emperor ordered them to be defended against the Catholics. "The same tolerance (he wrote to the governor-general of White Russia) which moves the government not to tamper with people's conscientious convictions in matters of faith, ought to serve as a rule for the

Roman ecclesiastical authorities as to the conduct which they ought, in their turn, to manifest towards the United-Greeks, and so defend them against all compulsion and all seduction, exercised with the view of converting the United-Greek people to the Roman Catholic rites. If the dominant religion does not permit any coercive measures, then with greater reason ought a religion, that only exists on sufferance, not to arrogate to itself such a right of coercion as it exercises." The Catholics meanwhile asserted that the United-Greeks had voluntarily abandoned their religion, for this reason, that their priests had persecuted their parishioners by illegal taxes and all sorts of exactions. To this the United-Greeks replied with justice, that if these Priests were absolutely such as they were described, why did the Latin clergy retain them in their former curacies, when once they and their parishes were converted to Latinism? The Archbishop of the United-Greeks of Polotsk, Lissoffsky, wrote; "If, contrary to all expectation and after due consideration at the time as to the solution of this affair it pleases them to let the United-Greek people be converted, and the clergy continue to confess Latinism, in this case, I, as a matter of conscience and equally for the defence and the dignity of the Greek rite, to which

I am sincerely attached, shall be obliged to take very active measures to put a stop to those abuses which have been committed, in confounding the Greek ceremonies with Roman Catholic rites ; and the Latin clergy should then be obliged to place in these converted parishes Priests thoroughly conversant with their ceremonies, who would have to discharge all the sacred offices required, and those which are necessary to the parishioners ; but would be obliged to abstain altogether from using the Greek ceremonies. But, in such a position, will it be possible for the common people to accustom themselves to ceremonies altogether new and incomprehensible, and entirely forsake the rite which their forefathers taught them, and which is, so to say, identified with their very nature ? Certainly the results will be unseemly, and the people themselves, whom I very well know, having studied them on the spot, will not hesitate to make all the efforts possible, to return again to their primitive religious ceremonies." Hence we see why the Roman Catholics left the United-Greeks their Priests, while accusing these very Priests all the while of simony, and why they persisted in regarding as belonging to the Roman Church a people who had maintained not only some of the dogmas, but all the cere-

monies of the Greek Church. It was by a similar falsehood that the Latins augmented their parishes in White Russia by more than two hundred thousand persons; but all the while they were awakening in the minds of the United-Greeks a manifest indignation and contempt that they did not care to hide.

Archbishop Lissoffsky was at that time the representative of the United-Greek clergy, as much on account of the antiquity of the See of Polotsk (the Metropolitan See had been abolished by the Empress Catherine) as on account of the number of years which he had held it. Lissoffsky was always very much attached to the faith which he professed, and he tried to guard it against every admixture of Romanism, to which, as we have seen, the Latin clergy, especially at the end of the last century, directed its efforts. As early as 1785 this worthy prelate proposed to the Pope to abolish those changes introduced into the Slavonic ceremonies, which had been put in practice after the Synod of Zamoysk. With the consent of the Pope, he drew up a Breviary, which he sent to Rome, to be examined there, adding to the Slavonic text a translation of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom in the Latin language. In this correspondence he attributed, with much justice, the greater part of the

innovations to the Basilian monks, and showed to the Cardinals that even the addition in the Creed of the *Filioque* belonged to the category of changes introduced in later times. Such a Bishop could not be indifferent to the evident stultification of his Church rites, by the fraudulent declarations of Latin ecclesiastics, nor see with calmness the United-Greeks deluded into a transition to Papist usages, unintelligible to them as they were. "I know positively," said he, "what evil designs the Romans have towards us; their constant efforts to persecute the United-Greeks during two consecutive centuries, serve to convince us of it." The United-Greeks requested the Government that the administration of their Church should be entirely separated from the Latin ecclesiastical system. Fair as was their pretension, nevertheless they were not at first entirely successful in obtaining it. In the year 1804 they only received the right of representation in the Roman Ecclesiastical College; in particular it was enacted that one Bishop and three assessors should on the part of the United-Greeks assist in Council, and should be chosen by the three chief Diocesans; that each of these members should count for two votes, so as to assimilate them in number to the eight members of the Latin dio-

ceses. Placed on an equality with the Roman Catholics, the United-Greeks were not able to act at all in concert with them. The United-Greek members were received at the college with a haughty disdain; they were obliged to defend all their opinions* in favour of their Church with unheard of efforts; in a word, the re-union of the administration of the two Churches proved not a pacification, but, on the contrary a cause of irritation of the one against the other. Archbishop Lissoufsky, in insisting on the complete separation of those two Confessions, presented a protestation, in the highest degree interesting, against the persecutions which the unhappy United-Greek Church suffered on the part of the Latin Church, which latter wished it believed that the two Confessions formed only one and the same Church. Every impartial reader, after having examined this act of accusation drawn up by the chief Pastor of the United-Greek Church, will without doubt be convinced, that the union was not only far distant from Latinism, notwithstanding the artificial approximation of the two Churches, (unhappily protected by the Russian Government,) but that that creed was itself entirely hostile to it. It was not only the individual opinion of the Archbishop; far from it; it was the truest expres-

sion of the sentiments and the convictions of the United-Greeks. All the representations of the Bishoprics of this rite at the Ecclesiastical College plainly confirmed the truth, and recited the sufferings which the Latin clergy made their co-religionists endure. It was then that the government saw itself constrained to separate entirely the higher administration of the United-Greek Church from the Roman Catholic College, and to acknowledge by that measure that a positive distinction existed between the two Churches—a distinction which in reality had existed from all time, but which had not been effaced, administratively speaking, except by the decision of the Emperor Paul. By a ukase, bearing date the 15th of July, 1805, the college was divided into two departments: the one for the ecclesiastical affairs of the Roman Church, and the other for those of the United-Greek Church. But it would appear that the government could not decide on completely separating the two administrations of Churches which Popes themselves had never been willing nor been able to blend; it was therefore prescribed that the common affairs of the two Churches should be examined in a general assembly of the two departments.

Archbishop Lissoffsky was summoned to St.

Petersburg, and to him was entrusted the presidency of the United-Greek department (second) of the College.

To the great disappointment of the Latin clergy, the United-Greek Church took a conspicuous start from the moment when in the following year Lissosky was raised to the dignity of Metropolitan. "It is not for myself," "said he modestly, "for I am bent down with the weight of years and brought to the decline of life, but for the good of the United-Greek Church." After the suppression of the Metropolitan See of this rite by the Empress Catherine, the Metropolitan Rostocky had lived at St. Petersburg, and it is there that he died in 1805. The Empress had no confidence in this Prelate, celebrated as he was for his attachment to the ancient Government of Poland; so that, after her combinations were completed, she found this Metropolitan See useless; the union being on the point of dissolution, this link with Rome, represented by the dignity of the Metropolitan title, became not only superfluous, but possibly dangerous to the government.

But how shall we explain the acts of the government under the Emperor Paul? First upholding the union, then re-establishing without the

least necessity two United-Greek Dioceses once abolished, while allowing to remain as Bishops men *who had openly proved their animosity towards Russia*, and all the while leaving the Metropolitan Rostocky without appointment. And yet this Bishop was not more celebrated than Bishop Levinsky, who had in spite of his bias towards the ancient Polish republic preserved his See. In preserving in his person the dignity of United-Greek Metropolitan, they rendered that Church much more independent of the Pope than the Latin Church was, for the Metropolitan had the right of consecrating as Bishops the persons chosen by the Emperor, without any previous authorization of the Pope. Thus, if the government found it necessary to uphold the union and to prevent its decay—(the ultimate and inevitable result)—there was no other plan than to lay great stress on the renewal of the Metropolitan dignity; for by this means might be evaded at least a too great subordination to Rome, and an independent existence given to the United-Greek Church, which should thus be enabled to avoid being completely absorbed by the Roman Hierarchy.

This is just what Lissoffsky proved. This Pastor displayed in the Metropolitan chair the

utmost activity in relieving the United-Greek Church of those premeditated innovations which the Latin Church had introduced into her, in preserving her Eastern ceremonies and her inner organization. "Some ceremonies and Latin usages (he wrote) have been in truth introduced into the United-Greek Church, but for a long time I have been carefully correcting those in my diocese, causing as far as is convenient all the ceremonies adopted by the Greco-Russian Church in their perfect purity to be re-established. In 1806 he proposed to his United-Greek clergy to recite first the name of the Emperor and then that of the Pope, in the sacred services; he interceded with the view of obliging the Basilians to submit to the Diocesan Bishops, and procuring the restoration to the secular clergy of the property of the churches which had been violently taken from them, as also that the right of patronage should be abolished; in a word, he tried to re-establish the United-Greek Church in its primitive organization and ceremonies, which since the introduction of the Union the Popes had solemnly promised to preserve, but which during two centuries, had been replaced little by little by Latin ceremonies.

The Metropolitan thus expressed himself on the

subject of the right of patronage: "The right of patronage has done much wrong to the orphans who remain after the death of the Priests; for the patrons, in presenting of their own accord to the cures those who had have rendered them any services, *nearly force me also to confirm them*, without troubling the least in the world where I should place the poor orphans;—*to confirm*, I say, absolutely to ordain Priests these ecclesiastics whom they present, and to entrust the parishes to them. Considering that a like patronage has not existed anywhere else, and does not actually exist in the Oriental Church, and as the nomination to the cures and the placing of the orphans depend immediately on the local Archbishops, and considering further that this right of Patronage has been extended to the United Greek, after the example of the Roman Catholic clergy, *and that the Patrons prosecute me even at law, because that being under legal obligation, I do not place in the cures those who, after their own caprices, they would choose*, I venture with this end to implore of a supreme order to restore to the United-Greeks the rights and the privileges of the Eastern Church, in that which concerns the nomination of the Priests." It would seem that the Russian government ought to have encouraged

by all the means in its power, desires so just and equitable, and deliver the United-Greek Church from the Romish customs which had been silently introduced into her, and from the dominion of the Basilians; but in reality we see that on the contrary it was silent, for example, on the subject of the Basilians; or it issued decisions which alone appeared to acquiesce in the representations, but which were not confirmed. In like manner with the right of Patronage, the government ostensibly shared the opinion of the Metropolitan, approved of it, and yet at the same time never abolished this abuse. Such was then the general system in the affairs of the Home government; the rules of an exterior policy, trying to conciliate all the tendencies, and content, as much as possible, the two parties, were put in practice; but in the administration this diplomacy excited nothing but misunderstanding, vagueness, and uncertainty, and deprived it of the power of energetic action, as we have noticed in the historical review of the Latin Church. There was yet another cause of the reticence of the administration in reference to the United-Greek clergy; their true destination and their meaning were to them incomprehensible, and they ignored the rules under which they were controlled; thus

for example, in 1804, the following questions were put with remarkable naïveté to the United-Greek members of the College :

What was the Metropolitan of the United-Greek Church? What were his rights? Have the United-Greeks ever been under the domination of the Romans? For what purpose did the Metropolitan Rostocky reside at St. Petersburg?

Now we see the explanation why the United-Greeks, excited against the Roman Catholics as they were, were not reunited from that time with the Greek Church ;—at the epoch when the Metropolitan Lissoffsky by every possible means brought together the two Confessions. If the Government had only permitted it to be understood that it was not averse to such a union, but that it rather desired it, the United-Greeks who remained after the Empress Catherine would have followed the example of their brethren, and the union would have been dissolved of itself.

Unhappily, Lissoffsky did not long occupy the Metropolitan chair; he died on the 30th of August, 1809.

A little before his death, the Government acceded to his request of re-establishing the ancient Metropolitan diocese; for Lissoffsky, after the

abolition of this diocese under the Empress Catherine, had been left the diocese of Polotsk, even after having been named Metropolitan. It was after the annexation of the Province of Bialaslok to Russia that a new division of the United-Greek dioceses was resolved on; for in the Province of Bialaslok there were as many as forty one thousand United-Greek inhabitants, with thirty-nine churches, and three Basilian convents. After the final partition of Poland, conjointly with the Provinces which passed over to Prussia, the United-Greek clergy were resolved into that State; they had belonged before that, in part, to the diocese of Brest, in part, to that of Lithuania, that is to say to the Metropolitan diocese. The Prussian government created for the United-Greeks an especial diocese, named Souprassl, from the residence of the diocesan Bishop which was fixed at a convent of that name; it was composed of four Deaneries or Priors. In Russia, as we know, there were three United-Greek dioceses, that of Polotsk, the archiepiscopal diocese, the only diocese preserved by the Empress Catherine, and two dioceses re-established by the Emperor Paul, Luck and Brest, in the which the ancient Metropolitan diocese of Lithuania was included. Hence it was that the diocese of Brest was very

extensive; one counted there as many as nine hundred Churches. The Metropolitan Lissowsky proposed to take three hundred parish churches from this diocese, and with them to form a fourth Metropolitan diocese, establishing the Episcopal chair at Wilna, under the administration of the Vicar Metropolitan, and of re-uniting the Churches of the Province of Bialostok to the Diocese of Brest. These projects of the Metropolitan were put into execution by a ukase issued by the Senate 14th February, 1809. Dating from this period, the United-Greek dioceses received the following limits: 1stly, the Metropolitan Diocese of Lithuania included the Governments of Wilna, of Courland, and a part of that of Minsk; 2ndly, that of Polotsk, (Archiespiscopal) comprehended the Governments of Vitebsk and of Mohileff; 3rdly, that of Luck, the Governments of Kieff, of Volhynia, and of Podolia; 4thly, that of Brest included the Governments of Grodno, a part of the Government of Minsk, and of the Province of Biélostok. The United-Greek Churches of the country of Tarnapol, which had temporarily belonged to Russia, were annexed to the Diocese of Luck down to the cession of the country to Austria.

At his death Lissowsky begged the Emperor to name Metropolitan, Gregory Kohanowicz, Bishop

of Luck, taken from the secular clergy, and consequently zealous for the separation of the union from the Latin rite. Before being nominated to the chair of Luck, Kohanovicz had been suffragan of the Metropolitan. The Emperor acceded to the prayer of the dying pastor, and, in the year 1810, Kohanovicz was raised to the dignity of Metropolitan; he was then sixty-two years old.

The administration of the United-Greek Church by Kohanovicz was the continuation of the system of Lissoffsky, that is to say, a struggle with innovations generally, and with the Roman usages introduced into the United-Greek ceremonies, and with the Basilian orders more particularly. The old irreconcilable dissensions between the secular clergy and the monks were renewed more and more distinctly and clearly. Since the Jesuits had exiled the Metropolitan Siestrenciewicz, and had drawn up the rule for the administration of the Latin Church, published in 1800, the Basilians, in taking their stand on this rule, not only refused all submission to the Diocesan Bishops, but further obtained, through the money of the Jesuits (the Archbishop Benislowsky), permission to assemble a General Chapter, and to choose themselves a General of the Order, a thing which had never

before been tolerated in Russia, even for the Roman Catholics. The Senate put a stop to this measure, and by the supreme order removed Benislowsky, two other members, and the Procurator from the college, who, as is said in the ukase, “contrary to public utility tried to deliver the regular clergy from the control of the Diocesan Archbishops, and to renew their own immediate administration, without the least surveillance of any ecclesiastical authority whatever. But, as at the commencement of the reign of the Emperor Alexander, the power of the Latin Bishops over the congregations of the monks was very limited, the Basilians, who in all the Government measures were considered as a Roman order, obtained the right of being governed by Provincials specially appointed, and formed three Provinces: that of White Russia, that of Lithuania, and that of Russia proper. There were eighty-four Basilian convents for men, but there were only twenty which could count more than seven monks, and all the others less than seven, so that by virtue of the same papal ordinances, which the Basilians followed so willingly on every occasion, sixty-four convents had no longer the right of existing, and should have been closed. But they were eminently Romish monks, that is to say, they recognised only

those canonical laws which were advantageous to them; therefore these monasteries, useless and hostile to the Union as they were, were preserved, although, in 1804, the college itself had represented to the Senate that it was sufficient to preserve only thirty of these asylums, and to close the others. To such a point had the superfluous number of the monasteries reached, that, in the government of Volhynia, where there remained so few United-Greeks, they had twenty-six Basilian convents, while there were only four Greek cloisters, although the greatest part of the population of this government belonged to the Greco-Oriental confession.

In the greater number of the United-Greek convents of the government of Volhynia they had two, three, or five monks each. While the United-Greek secular clergy had scarcely daily bread, the Basilians possessed immense and populous estates, where there might be counted as many as twenty thousand peasants, and a capital of seven hundred thousand roubles. All these material advantages, as well as their independence as an Order, were utilised for the persecution of the unhappy United-Greek Priests, and for the destruction of the Union by Latinism. It was with this aim that they maintained schools: fourteen for the

laity, and twelve for monastic novices ; and that like the Latin monks they avoided and eluded everything that could test their knowledge. The Basilians, who had ten convents, established near some of them schools for young girls, but only in localities where they could be no co-operation of the Latin nuns, who may thus be said to have had predominance over the Basilians. As to immediate relations with the Court of Rome, the Basilians had a special Procurator there, who took care of the affairs of the Order. Pope Urban VIII. gave, in 1641, to the Basilian congregation at Rome the church De la Madone del Pascolo, to celebrate the service according to the Greek rite ; and his brother, Cardinal Barberini, also gave them some land in the neighbourhood around the church, and built a house for their Procurator. Moreover, from the time of the Polish domination, they sent every three years from Lithuania four young clerks of the Order to be brought up at Rome : two from among them were generally placed at the *Collegium de Propagandâ fide* and two at the Greek College, near to the church of St. Athanasius. After the annexation to Russia, the Empress Catherine forbade the clergy, the Latin equally with the United-Greek, to have any immediate relations with

foreign ecclesiastical authorities : so that they could no longer keep a " mandatory " at Rome, or educate their novices there. But under the reign of the Emperor Alexander, they began to act as in the past, and even hid nothing, although the law of Catharine on relations with the Court of Rome remained in full vigour, and was equally obligatory on the Roman Catholic as on the United-Greek. The opinion which Admiral Schischkoff presented on this subject to the Emperor was very judicious : " As there is at the Court of Rome," he wrote, " a minister of your majesty, through whom all communications concerning the affairs of the two branches of the Romish Church are conducted, it appears quite an unnecessary, nay, even an inconvenient, step for our Government to retain, so to say, a special mandatory for the service of those monks who have abandoned our Church." The Emperor, however, ordered the United-Greek Metropolitan to choose a priest who should preserve at Rome the relations already established, without any other mission than this, though there was already at the Court of Rome a Russian Legation. But why, in this case, allow a mandatory of the Basilians, if he could no longer fulfil his functions? Of course he continued to play his part there. In this

way the Basilians were, so to say, recognised by the Government as an Order more Latinised than the Latin Monastic Orders themselves, who had not the right of maintaining these official agents at Rome; and the United-Greek Church was supported in the Roman Catholic capital by Russia for the propagation of Romanism in her possessions, the only aim for which this Church could be established, for there was no one there for whom it had to act : in the provinces recovered from Poland, it was only the lower class which belonged to the Union, and these never went abroad. In truth, the Basilian Order was a monastic corporation thoroughly Latin. It was almost entirely composed of those who were Roman Catholics from their birth ; therefore the United-Greeks were treated by them with galling contempt ; and not only did they not in any way aid the United-Greek secular clergy, but they deprived them of all that they could ; and of all their numerous institutions, they did not assign any single one for the education of the children of the United-Greek Priests. To this contempt, and to these insults, the secular clergy retorted upon the Basilians with equal animosity, regarding them very justly as apostates from the United-Greek faith.

After the irregularity of the conversion of the

United-Greeks of White Russia to the Latin rite was duly established, the Metropolitan Siestrenczewicz was obliged to direct his clergy to allow them to return to their original form of worship ; and in 1807 it was forbidden to *convert* the United-Greeks, and this order, in consequence of complaints still more recent, was confirmed in 1810 by the Senate, which prescribed to the college not to tolerate any one passing from one rite to another.

Acting on this ukase of the Senate, the United-Greek department of the college equally forbade the Basilians to receive into their Order any person professing the Latin faith. This decision startled the Roman clergy as much as it did the Polish nobility. The Prince Loubetzky and the Count Oginsky, in the name of the nobility of Grodno, and the Count Rokitzky, marshal of the nobility of the government of Minsk, in the name of the nobility of Minsk, entreated Prince Galitzen not to permit the execution of this order of the United-Greek department, asserting that the Order of the Basilians, was indispensable for civilization, and that, therefore, *it must be recruited itself with gentlemen of the Roman Catholic religion*. The United-Greek Bishops (Roman Catholics) Boulhak and Golovnia joined them.

It is to be remarked, that they began even to persuade the administration of Public Worship, that to fill the Order of the Basilians with Roman Catholics was advantageous for the Greek Church herself. "The department of ecclesiastical affairs (such are the very words) recognises the circumstance to which attention has been called by Mgr. Boulhak as in every respect worthy of being taken into consideration, particularly as the conversion of Romanists to the United-Greek confession would reunite them, if not in the dogmas of the faith, at least in the religious ceremonies, with the Greco-Russian." Here is a specimen of the manner in which the superior administration of worship understood the United-Greek question, and estimated the facts which related to it. All the world knows that Roman Catholics on entering into the Basilian Order never abandoned their primitive belief, and did not change it in anything whatever; reckoning themselves as belonging to the United-Greek confession, in order thus to be able the more easily to convert the United-Greeks to the Latin faith, and compel them to forsake the Eastern ceremonial, in no way to accept it themselves. How could this *Communion* then tend to draw members of the Romish Church to the United-Greek Church?

Notwithstanding however all these intrigues, and all these manœuvres, the ordinance issued by the United-Greek department, in 1810 remained in all its vigour, but was never executed by the Basilians. However, be that as it may, such a clog upon their entering the Order actually prevented some Roman Catholics introducing themselves among the United-Greeks; for although the law was never put in execution, still it existed, and consequently, at any moment, its application might be enforced.

On the 14th of March, 1814, the Metropolitan Kohanovicz died. After his death two episcopal chairs remained vacant; that of Lithuania and that of Luck, which Kohanovicz had preserved even after he was raised to the Metropolitan dignity. According to his dying wish, the Metropolitan Diocese was, until the election of his successor, temporarily intrusted to the care of the Archbishop of Polotsk, Krassoffsky, and that of Luck to the direction of Boulhak Bishop of Brest.

The death of Kohanovicz produced the greatest joy among the Basilians, who even in the prayers for the repose of his soul introduced words and terms hurtful and damaging to his memory. The secular clergy on the contrary were very

much grieved at his loss : “ Kohanovicz” (said the United-Greek priests) “ came from our ranks ; with his death necessarily the respect of society for our Order will naturally disappear.” Without loss of time, the Basilians hastened to present candidates for this very important charge, nominating Boulhak, Bishop of Brest, who had been of their Order, and who had gone through his studies at Rome at the Jesuit College *de Propaganda fide*. Evading an application to the higher Courts of the Department of Public Worship, they opened a direct appeal to the Emperor through the intervention of M. Ponsloffsky, Marshal of the nobility at Slonim, a great patron of Boulhak’s. For a long time this latter had aspired to the Metropolitan dignity : in 1809, he had persuaded M. Lanskoy, Governor of Grodno, to intercede in his favour, and cause him to be nominated coadjutor of the Metropolitan, then very old, so as at his death to be in a position to replace him. He based his request on the loss of revenue that he had sustained in consequence of the annexation of the three hundred churches of the Bishopric of Brest to the Metropolitan Diocese. Scarcely had Lissoffsky breathed his last, before he addressed a direct petition to the Emperor to be elected Metropolitan, in consideration (as he

said) of his having for a long time been Bishop. The secular clergy upon learning the intrigues of the Basilians in favour of Boulhak, opposed with all their power such a choice. In the midst of these endless cabals, the Emperor, not knowing whom to choose, allowed the Metropolitan chair to remain unoccupied for three years; but when, in 1817, he was obliged to have a Bishop consecrated, the consecration being an exclusive prerogative of the United - Greek Metropolitans, the Emperor designed Boulhak for the Metropolitan dignity. At length the Basilians obtained what they had so ardently desired, and Boulhak did really prove a man to justify their hopes, for he extended particular favour to their Order. Above all, he introduced a Basilian representative into the United-Greek Department. The Metropolitan Diocese, like all the other United-Greek Dioceses, had its assessor at the college. The New Metropolitan explained that from a personal knowledge of the wants of his diocese, he considered an assessor of that diocese superfluous, but that he regarded it as quite an indispensable thing that instead of him an Archimandrite of the Basilian Order should be elected; "in short," said he, "to preserve uniformity, to develop a greater influence for the college, in the affairs both of the

secular and of the regular clergy, and by that means to procure more advantages for the Basilian Order, for the purpose of obtaining, and that with the greatest exactitude, whatever information might be desirable as to the manor-lands, the funded capital, monastic discipline, etc."

The arguments of Boulhak were evidently placed on a very poor foundation; for while he did not find it necessary to have at the college an assessor for the Metropolitan Diocese (seeing that he himself knew its wants), he surely had much less necessity for an assessor for the Diocese of Brest, which he had administered since 1795.

Be that as it may, he proposition was confirmed, and, in 1819, the Provincial Basilian had a seat in the College. Later, in order to render the access of the secular clergy to the episcopal dignities still more difficult, Boulhak asked the Supreme Court to confirm the statute of the Synod of Zamoisk, which prescribed that the Bishop chosen from the secular clergy should, before ranking in the Monastic Orders, be obliged to pass his noviciate according to the rules of the Order of the Basilians for a year and six weeks, and could only take the vows after having passed this noviciate. The secular clergy complained of the persecution which

they suffered on the part of the Basilians, and reminded the government that for two centuries they had already been in this degrading situation; that the Basilians did not permit the choosing the bishops from among them, that they deprived them of all education, seizing the Church lands and parochial cures, and selling the property which they possessed in the town to the Jews. In 1819 the Diocese of Brest presented three petitions against the malversations of the Basilians. Prince Galitzen contented himself with having them examined by the Metropolitan Boulhak, that is to say, by the representative of that Order, against which the complaints were directed. Of course Boulhak found the Basilians entirely innocent of the accusations brought against them, and the secular clergy had to submit to an enforced silence. The moment was not propitious for offering opposition. Soon after, for their complaint, a Bishop was deprived of his office. The trial of this Bishop shows, as plainly as possible, the relation subsisting between the United-Greek secular clergy and the Basilians,—their respective powers and their tendencies; we therefore think it indispensable to present to our readers a recital, though it must be but a brief one, of this interesting trial. The Archiepiscopal See

of Polotsk was then occupied by Krassoffsky, the same who, when only archpriest, had been sent by the United-Greeks to St. Petersburg, in the capacity of their mandatory, to present a complaint against the oppressions and the forced conversions of the Latin clergy. This was enough to make of the Basilians irreconcilable enemies. Subsequently Krassoffsky was distinguished by the regard of the Metropolitan Lissoffsky, who (as is well known) did not himself enjoy any great credit among the Basilians; and was appointed by him vicar of the Diocese of Polotsk. After the death of Lissoffsky, the archiepiscopal dignity was conferred on him in 1809, so that with the exception of the Metropolitan, he found himself the senior of all the United-Greek Bishops. This elevation to so high a dignity raised the indignation of the Basilians still more against him, as they regarded with an unfavourable and envious eye every Bishop that had not sprung from their Order. Krassoffsky represented in their eyes the United-Greek secular clergy, for whom they had the most supreme contempt; to them he was an ecclesiastic who dared to maintain the autonomy of the United-Greek Church, instead of favouring its servile incorporation with Latinism, and hence a dangerous enemy to the Roman Church. They

resolved therefore to punish, in his person, all those United-Greeks who did not sympathise with their Order. In 1820 a Priest was induced to make an accusation against the Archbishop in which he charged him with comporting himself cruelly towards the lower clergy, with ruining the peasants belonging to the episcopal lands, and with being addicted to inebriety. After this denunciation, the Metropolitan Boulhak made a personal inspection of the Diocese of Polotsk, found everything in the greatest order, and formerly thanked Krassoffsky; but at the same time he secretly enjoined the Archimandrite Schoulakewicz, a Basilian and the personal enemy of Krassoffsky, to watch secretly all the actions of the Archbishop. In order to form a more complete idea of the character of the man whom Boulhak charged with a mission so disgraceful, it will here suffice to mention that this same individual had been the author of many pamphlets against the worthy Metropolitan Lissoffsky, and that it was *he* who excited the monks against this prelate, a man venerable and full of ardour for the good of his co-religionists. A short time after, towards the end of the year 1821, in consequence of the insidious solicitations of the Metropolitan, the direction of the Diocese of Polotsk was taken

from Krassoffsky, who was summoned to undergo an ecclesiastical sentence; his private estates were sequestered, and the administration of the Diocese of Polotsk was temporarily intrusted to the Basilian Schoulakewicz above mentioned. Boulhak intended to have had Krassoffsky judged by a tribunal composed solely of two Bishops of his own views, that is to say, Roman Catholics like himself, the two suffragan Bishops, Javorsky of Brest, Galvonia of Lithuania. But Krassoffsky, taking his stand on the canonical laws, demanded that a Provincial Council should be convoked for his trial. In consequence of this protest, the Bishop of Luck gave full powers to Canon Siemaczko to represent him at the trial; and Canon Markovicz was deputed by the Diocese of Lithuania. So then, in this tribunal, the representatives of all the United-Greek Bishoprics (with the exception of that of Krassoffsky himself) were brought together; and thus was this tribunal, called together to judge the Bishop, composed. It was held under the presidency of the Metropolitan, of the suffragan Bishop of Brest, Javorsky, and of Canons Markovicz and Siemaczko. The opinion of the judges was divided. The Metropolitan Boulhak and the Bishop Javorsky (both Roman Catholics) condemned Krassoffsky on all the counts,

and found him unworthy of exercising thereafter the episcopal power. The two Canons Markovicz and Siemaczko (both taken from the lower clergy) acquitted the Archbishop generally, consenting only, and that out of complaisance to the opposite party, that a canonical admonition concerning some details and trifling irregularities, with which one might perhaps fairly reproach him, should be given. The Metropolitan could in no way whatever justify the flagrant contradiction between his own words of thanks addressed by him to Krassoffsky when visiting the diocese, and his repeated efforts (made so soon after) to put Krassoffsky on his trial. The special inquiry ordered by the Government into the state of the peasants on the lands of the Archbishop, led to the conviction that Krassoffsky not only did not persecute them, but that he succoured them in every way possible, that he had established magazines of corn, maintained a hospital for the poor, aided them himself without assistance from any one else, forgave them dues that had not been paid to him; in a word, that he had the greatest care for the well-being of the peasants, many of whom came forward to assert the same thing at the investigation held at the trial.

As soon as Krassoffsky was displaced from the

superintendence of his diocese to undergo his trial, the chiefs and those holding ecclesiastical offices in the different Deaneries of the Archbishopric of Polotsk petitioned the Emperor, *in the name of the lower clergy and by their authorization*, to reinstate him in his diocese; asserting that, during the twelve years of his administration, he had preserved the strictest order among the clergy, had taken care of their widows and children, and that he had organised a school for the clergy themselves. The petitioners expressed their fear lest the administration instituted in the diocese, under the authority of a Basilian, might weaken the general organisation of the diocese, and, above all, ruin the seminary. They placed their apprehensions on the fact that the Basilian Order always tried to keep the lower clergy in ignorance, an ignorance from which they were only now beginning to emerge through the earnest efforts of the Metropolitan Lissoffsky of Archbishop Krassoffsky. Thus, the two principal accusations, cruelty towards the peasants and towards the clergy, were refuted, not only by the progress of the inquiry and the decision of the majority of the judges, but, what is still more conclusive, by the very persons in whose names the accusations against the Archbishop were made. There only

remained one reproach unanswered, and that was that his habits were less sober than they ought to be; but even that came to nothing when confronted with certain evidence which was beyond suspicion. The Metropolitan Siestrencewicz, in whose house Krassoffsky lived for many years after he had been removed from Polotsk, certified that, seeing the Archbishop daily as he did, he believed he could confidently assert that he had never once given the least pretext for a calumny so damaging to his dignity. In the face of these facts it was naturally impossible to condemn Krassoffsky, but the superior administration of the Department of Public Worship did not however decide to acquit him; the trial terminated in 1823. It was only then it stopped, the confirmation never having reached the Emperor, Prince Galitzen merely sending secret information to the administration of the Diocese of Polotsk, that Krassoffsky, *for private and personal reasons*, could not be sent back to his diocese. In consequence of this the Basilians obtain their end. Not being able to pass a false sentence upon Krassoffsky they defamed him, and through him the secular clergy, and robbed him of the possibility of being useful to them. It was only on the accession of the Emperor Nicholas, that people began entirely to see through the intrigues of the

Basilians. Krassoffsky was fully acquitted and nominated Archbishop of Luck ; but in the following year, 1827, he died, and many indications lead to the supposition that he was poisoned. Thus it was that the antagonism between the veritable clergy and those apostates from the Union, the Roman Catholic Basilians, revealed its true outlines and character.

As regards the administration of the Latin clergy, not less than as regards the affairs of the United-Greek Church, it was only at the end of the reign of the Emperor Alexander that the superior administration of the Department of Public Worship began to realize and understand what it was doing, and, by studying the question, to elucidate it ; and it was only at this epoch that people perceived that the Basilians could not reconcile the Western with the Eastern Church by an amalgamation with the United-Greek clergy (as was once believed), but, on the contrary, that they would naturally in time deteriorate the Union to pure Latinism, if no protection against their influences was found for the secular clergy. The Basilians, in spite of the number of their convents, could not count on a prolonged existence : for, although these asylums were chiefly filled by Roman Catholics, so few were the inmates that they were, in

reality, almost empty;—a circumstance which it is very easy to understand, since the Latin convents themselves were in a state not much dissimilar. They should, at least, find some guarantee for their lands, in case any of their monasteries happened to be in such a state of complete solitude as to force them at last to be closed. They intrusted their interests to the Roman Catholics; as early as 1806 the Prince Czartoriczsky took certain steps to enable the Basilians to be recognised by the Government as an *educational* Order, exactly after the manner of the Jesuits, and also to secure that their landed property should be considered for the future as the general property of an educational corps, and thus that it should be left for ever at the disposal of the monks. But there was something else : Prince Czartoriczsky, a Roman Catholic and a man of the world, went on to arrogate to himself the right of organising the monastic administration of the United-Greek regular clergy, and requested that they should be governed by a regular legal system. (It was for this not long before that Bishop Benisloffsky had been excluded from the college by the Senate.) Also that a general Basilian Chapter should be convoked, in order to decide which convents it would be more desirable to shut, (as it was clear that many of

them *could not* continue to subsist) and which should be preserved; but under no pretext whatever should the lands of the abolished convents be withdrawn from the administration of the Order.

These projects of Prince Czartoriczsky, quite unknown to the higher clergy of the United-Greek Church (whose authorisation for what was done was never sought or given), received the Supreme sanction in 1807. On learning this, the Metropolitan Lissoffsky insisted on the abrogation of a decree which had proved pernicious to the United-Greek Church. To examine the innovations of Prince Czartoriczsky a committee was appointed, which very judiciously determined that he had not the slightest right to reorganise the Basilians according to his fancy; that he had no adequate ground for recognising this society as an educational body, inasmuch as its members were not engaged in instruction, and that many of them were thoroughly unfit for the work; they decided also that if the projects of Czartoriczsky were realized, the property of the Basilians would confer no advantage whatever on the United-Greeks, but would simply go to enrich the Roman Catholics, of whom the Order was composed. Thus the plan of Prince Czartoriczsky fell to the

ground; a plan closely corresponding to that which the Jesuits had proposed and carried on to its consummation, at the time of the foundation of their Academy at Polotsk, though there was not any necessity for the existence of such an institution, but simply as a means of preserving their independence *vis-à-vis* the University of Wilna. In this case the object was to preserve the property of the Basilians; and they found a pretext for their plans in the assumption that they had specially the character of an educational Order. These monks had a still greater panic when their wealth was threatened in 1820, by the decree issued by the United-Greek department, which forbade them receiving Romanists into their congregation. From this time forth the petitions of the United-Greek Bishops, desiring the revocation of this measure, began to multiply beyond the computation; and it seemed still more indispensable that their Order should be raised to the rank of an *educational Order*. The partizans of the secular clergy of the United-Greeks opposed on their side, by every means possible, this new pretension of the Basilians.

“Every one knows,” said the Metropolitan Kohanoviez in 1812, writing to Prince Galitzen, “that the Basilians, like all other Monastic Orders in the

Eastern Church, were instituted not to teach the sciences in the public schools, but for the purpose of leading a life of holiness and mortification, of addressing fervent prayers and offering sacrifices to the Almighty, and preaching the Word, as we see in the convents of the Greco-Russian Church, where the monks fulfil their sacred calling."

Scarcely was Boulhak raised to the dignity of Metropolitan, before he lodged a protest against the informality of the decree of the Department of the United-Greek Church in the year 1810, which complained (and this is worth recording) that if the Basilian Order was not supplemented by Roman Catholics it could not maintain its existence. After this Prince Czartoriczsky recommenced his solicitations in favour of the Order, and asked permission for his co-religionists to enter it, for liberty to choose pre-eminently out of its ranks their nominees to Bishoprics,—for them to be allowed to educate some of their novices at Rome,—and above all for the prevention by all means of the transference of any of the fortune of the Society to the secular clergy of the United-Greek Church, declaring that they had no right to it (although the riches of the Basilians were accumulated from the despoiled secular

clergy), that they could live on their own resources, and that any enrichment of the secular clergy at the expense of the Basilians would weaken an Order *so useful to the State*. But at this period the heads of the Department of Public Worship, began to recognise the true significance of this fraternity; and understood that Roman Catholics were associated with that Order, not through the medium of external ceremonies and by religious services conducted in a language altogether strange to them, but by their zeal for the promotion of Romanism; that the Basilians should not be obliged to educate Roman Catholics, but rather persons of their own community, and specially the children of poor members of the United-Greek Church who remained in the ignorance generally attached to deep poverty. But the Senate, in 1812, determined that Roman Catholics should not be received into the Order. The Director of the Department of Public Worship, Tomguineff, was scarcely content with this. He felt it necessary to abolish many Basilian convents, and to subordinate the others, not to three special provinces (as had been the case till then) but to one alone, which should not be Roman Catholic; but Prince Galitzen came to no absolute conclusion on the subject.

The Basilians, confident in the support of the Metropolitan, were not a little taken aback at such a change in the tendencies of the Department. They forwarded secret complaints to Rome of the persecutions to which they were exposed in Russia, and had already made up their mind to send a deputation to St. Petersburg for the purpose of setting forth their wants and their apprehensions. But permission was not granted. So they could only give free course in their petitions to their fears and lamentations. ¶The Basilian Provincial of Lithuania, inserting in the list of Basilians John Chrysostom, Cyril, Methodius, the Russian Metropolitans Peter and Alexis, etc., felt it necessary to point out the full importance and the exalted position of their Society, and to depreciate in every way the lower clergy of the United-Greek Church, by insinuating that the title of *popovitch* (son of a priest) was from the earliest times considered by the Poles as equivalent to base-born, and that according to the Polish laws the children of the United-Greek Church priests were inscribed in the register of the serfs: how then after this could one admit people of this class to the ranks of an Order so aristocratic as the Basilians—which recruited its ranks only from the members of the higher

families of Poland? ' "The Basilians of Lithuania," said he, "could not allow any fears founded on the expectation of seeing their Order fall into decay after the experience of their brothers in White Russia, who lost all their importance simply because in this province the secular clergy began to recover their position, so that people got to make very little of the Basilians." (Let us notice here that the province of White Russia comprises the Archbishopric of Polotsk, that the archiepiscopal chair had been occupied by Lissoffsky, and after him by Krassoffsky, and that the passages which we are about to adduce were written at the precise time when this last archbishop was undergoing a trial in consequence of Basilian intrigues.) The Basilian Provincial, a zealous Romanist, still more exposed his secret views, while expressing his opinion on the state of the Union at this period, thus: "From all that has been previously stated, it results *that the number of the United-Greeks diminishes every day, and that there is no possible means of averting this misfortune*; and that on the other hand the admission of the Roman Catholics into the Basilian Order (forbidden as it is by the Government) could no more counterbalance the constant decrease in the numbers of United-

Greeks, and hence, ultimately, and *that after no great interval, the Union would be reduced to nullity.*"

If after all that we have just said on the composition of the clergy of the United-Greek Church,—on this doctrine, which has never been able to take root among the people,—on the desperate decision of the Latin clergy, who, having lost all hope of any longer maintaining this anti-Polish sect, saw themselves constrained at last to attempt the conversion of the United-Greeks to pure Latinism,—if after all this, the reader can suppose that the Union had any future before it, and could do anything but return to that Church from which it had been violently torn, the testimony of the Basilian Provincial of Lithuania will avail to convince, and dispose of the last lingering doubt on the subject. The Union was only maintained by the *non-United-Greek* element which was in it; that is, by the Basilians; though this Order scarcely maintained the shadow of an existence itself, beyond what was conceded to it from without, and was not a society of United-Greek Churchmen, but a Latin Order, composed almost exclusively of Roman Catholics, who formed the greater part of the population of these establishments.

If once the United-Greeks had been the only persons admitted into this Monastic Order, the Basilians must perforce, by the simplest requirements of justice, have closed their monasteries, and Rome must have renounced her share in the arrangement of the Union.* The unfortunate United Church, thanks to the reckless zeal and fanaticism of the Latins, was in a condition of internal disorganisation and bitter strife, such as rendered it quite impossible that any harmony should be secured between the Roman Catholic regular priesthood and the United-Greek clergy. The one party had a constant tendency *Romewards*, eager to impose on their flocks Roman rites, ceremonies, and institutions,—the other was ever striving to retrieve their Greek origin and the traditions of their Church, their ancient statutes, ritual, and religious usages of which the complete effacement had not been quite effected. Which of these two contending parties was destined to have the upper hand? Was it the original and numerous body of the clergy, or was it the foreign congregation which progressively decreased? The answer is not difficult. The latter looked for a support both constant and artificial, the other asked nothing but justice.

Strictly speaking, in a neighbouring Roman

Catholic State the position of the secular United-Greek clergy was incomparably better than it was in Russia itself. In Austria, according to the regulation of the Emperor Joseph II., a special central seminary was established for the clergy. Salaries were fixed for the parish priest; and in case these proved inadequate the sum was supplemented by an auxiliary fund. Parishes were apportioned, not by the patrons but by the bishops, and for bishops they nominated exclusively secular clergymen. The United-Greeks in Austria preserved at this time the organisation and ceremonies specially Greek in far greater purity than was to be found in the Western Provinces of Russia.

In Russia although the Greek Church, whose rites had been preserved by the United-Greeks, was the ruling Church, the clergy themselves who had as marked a repulsion for the Latin Church as they had sympathy for the Russian, had not only not enjoyed during the reign of the Emperor Alexander any patronage, but not even any protection, assistance, or succour, such as was not only legitimate but just. Nearly two thousand parish priests who had ministered in fourteen hundred and seventy-six churches were reduced almost entirely to the yearly produce of

thirty-six dessiatines* of land per parish. The funded property of the Churches was in comparison to that of the Basilians at a very low ebb ; and the children of the priests, robbed of all means of existence, were made absolute peasants not only on the ecclesiastical lands but on the seignorial ones as well. The Metropolitan Boulhak himself, little disposed as he was in favour of the secular United-Greek clergy, has left us the following proof, specially noteworthy, considering from whom it came. " The United-Greek secular clergy having property consisting for a great part in arable land and that of small compass, and hardly peopled by peasants, and having only very moderate capital, had, in spite of all their toil, an existence which scarcely enabled them to fulfil their family requirements."

The Department of Public Worship did not devote any attention to speak of, to the education of candidates for the priesthood ; the secular clergy had not sufficient means for the discharge of the whole of these educational responsibilities, and the Basilians carefully kept their class in ignorance, while reserving all their establishments for the training of young men of the Latin rite. From the time of the Emperor Paul downwards,

* The dessiatine is about an acre.

the Metropolitan Siestrenczewicz insisted on the urgent need for the improvement of the seminaries of the United-Greek Church, proposing to sign over to them the property of twelve Basilian convents, which being altogether useless would have to be abolished, and the monks transferred to other monasteries; but the Basilians thwarted this plan. At the commencement of the reign of the Emperor Alexander, there were six United-Greek seminaries;—two in the diocese of Brest, four in that of Luck; but in such a state of decay, that many of them had been closed, not having the means of self-support; so that out of all the property of the seminaries of the bishopric of Luck, the only part that could be realized was the interest (and that was gathered at an exceedingly low rate) payable on the sum belonging to the seminary of Luck itself, which was later on transferred from this town to Botchaeff. But even there, there were no lodgings, and the scholars in consequence of their penury were obliged to lodge and board at their own expense. In the diocese of Polotsk, which embraced the whole of White Russia, there was altogether only one seminary, and the Archbishop maintained at his own personal expense in the archiepiscopal lodgings a solitary teacher to instruct those who

joined the ranks of the secular clergy in theological subjects. It was not till after Lissowsky had urged it, by repeated prayers and petitions, that the Basilian convent of St. Sophia at Polotsk was given for the establishment of a seminary, and it was thus that the first foundation of the education of the secular clergy of the United-Greek Church was laid in the diocese of Polotsk, an institution to which the succeeding Metropolitan Krassowsky applied his most particular attention. Thus it happened that this seminary was better organized than the rest, and the attendance of pupils there was more considerable than elsewhere. At the close of the reign of the Emperor Alexander, there remained but one seminary in each diocese of the United-Greek Church, though that scarcely supplied all the diocesan requirements; so that, for instance, in the seminary of Brest arrangements were only made for educating twenty students, although there were in the diocese six hundred and seventy-five priests; the real number of actual students, however, was but thirteen or fourteen. In the Metropolitan Diocese of Lithuania there were in all but three students. After the institution of the principal seminary for the Latin clergy, near the university of Wilna, the candidates for orders from the United-Greek Church

seminaries were admitted for the completion of their studies; and thus it happened that one of the committee, who managed the principal seminary, belonged to the United-Greeks. An institution such as this, in abolishing all distinctive characteristics of the United-Greek secular clergy, naturally Romanised them completely, like the Basilians. But how inscrutable are the decrees of Providence, for we find issuing from their school, pastors of the United-Greek Church, who have reconnected the union with its original source,—that is, with the Oriental Church.

The position of the Bishops of the United-Greek Church could no longer be considered brilliant. Up to 1805, that is say, up to the time when the convent of St. Sophia at Polotsk was given up to Lissoffsky, the Archbishops of that place had not even a dwelling-place near their cathedral, but lived six versts off at Strouna; and later on, at a distance of three hundred versts, in a convent. The See was supported by the Basilians. The Bishops of Brest lived in a country-house near the town of Novogroudek, and their consistories were held in a Basilian monastery in the neighbourhood, the chapel of which served for a cathedral.

The Bishops of Luck had ceased to possess a cathedral.

The Court of Rome did not establish any chapter at places where the United-Greek Bishops held their Sees, fearing the elevation of the Union in the eyes of the people ; since (as she knew) it was destined ultimately to abase itself before Latinism ; but yet according to Papal usage prelates and canons did intrude into these dioceses, but their numbers were not considerable.

Thus, in the Union there were no rich, powerful, or influential members to be found outside the ranks of the Catholic Basilians, hated as they were by the masses, and by the lower orders of the United-Greek clergy ; their only idea in maintaining it was openly to amalgamate it with Latinism. But the greater part of their convents were deserted ; and the Metropolitan Siestrencewicz, the Prince Czartoriczsky, and the Metropolitan Lissoffsky drew attention to the subject of the closing of many of them, inasmuch as there was scarcely any decent excuse for their existence. If this step had been carried out, if the rule had been followed of not admitting into this body any Roman Catholics, then the Order, as the members themselves certified, must have been dissolved. What would have remained of the Union after this had happened ? Simply the secular clergy and the people. The secular clergy, as we have

seen, were anything but disposed favourably towards Latinism. From the earliest times they had tried to promote a revival of the Oriental ceremonies, which the Basilians were as zealous in trying to corrupt; but they were poor and only semi-civilized, in consequence of the persistent persecution of the monks. If the property of the Basilians had, when their monasteries were closed, passed into the hands of the secular clergy, their ignorance and poverty would have equally ceased; and the inferior clergy, no longer persecuted by the Monastic Orders, would have employed their means for ultimate civilization and separation from the Latin Church. The United-Greek people had no fancy for Latinism. The rites and ceremonies of the Church of Rome were to them thoroughly foreign. She had succeeded in attaching by violence the peasant to Popery, but could not make a good Catholic of him; and the best proof of this lies in the fact, that the United-Greeks converted to Latinism at the commencement, turned back, like sheep to their fold, when the Metropolitan Siestrenczewicz ordered his clergy to free them from the obligation of the Roman Ritual. Thus we may ask the honest reader, Could this Union endure; could this half-hearted religion, imposed forcibly by Rome, and

maintained by falsehood last ? The Latin clergy themselves aid us in finding a satisfactory answer to the question. Did they not assure us that without Roman Catholics the Union could not have existed ? Why be in such a hurry to convert so many of the United-Greeks to pure Latinism, *united* as they already had been to the Roman Church ? Because it was known and understood that for the Union there was no real future in store, and that its maintenance was impossible. In accepting this conclusion as the only one possible after a survey of the history of the United-Greek Church, we may ask, to what was the Union directed ? Was it towards the progress of Roman Catholicism against which all the Greek secular clergy openly and ostensibly protested ; protested alike before the Latin Church, before the Basilians, and to the government itself, imploring protection from Latin persecution ? Therefore we repeat again, that without the slightest coercion, but in the natural progress of events, the Union must and should have returned to her forgotten mother,—to the bosom of the Oriental Church. According to all probability this should have happened under the reign of the Emperor Alexander, if the administration of Public Worship, without accelerating the change, had simply un-

derstood the United-Greek question ; and listening to the prayers of the United-Greeks, themselves had not nominated to the dignity of Metropolitans and Bishops any objectionable Romanist ; had not formed out of one diocese, as it existed in the time of the Empress Catherine, four others, and had not confounded the education of the United-Greek ecclesiastics with that of the Latins. If the Russian Government had only done what the Austrian Government had done for Gallicia, then neither would Rome with her ecclesiastics, nor the Basilians with their Polish nobility, have been able to maintain the Union.

CHAPTER XV.

RELATIONS SUBSISTING BETWEEN THE CABINET
OF ST. PETERSBURG AND THE COURT OF ROME,
UNDER THE EMPEROR ALEXANDER.

Autograph Letter of Pope Pius VII., 1801.—Establishment of a Russian Legation at Rome.—Count Cassini nominated *Chargé d’Affaires*, 1802.—His instructions.—The Abbé Benvenuti *Chargé d’Affaires* of the Holy See at St. Petersburg.—The Holy See steadily recurs to the idea of instituting a “Nunciature” at St. Petersburg.—Mission of Monseigneur Arezzo, 1803, 1804.—Project of sending Count Bontourline to Rome, in 1803.—His instructions.—Demands of the Emperor for the extradition of Count Vernègues.—Rupture of political relations in 1804.—The Holy See makes various attempts at renewing them.—Official relations between the two Courts re-established in 1814.—Services rendered to the Holy See by the Emperor Alexander, 1815.—Baron de Tuyl Russian Minister at Rome, 1815-17.—The question of the re-union of the two Churches in 1815.—Answer of the Emperor to this proposition.—Ideas of the Emperor on the unity of the Christian Church.—Treaty of the Holy Alliance the expression of Imperial ideas.—The Holy See is the only power in Europe to protest against this Alliance.—Its character and tendency explained to the Pope by the Emperor Alexander in a truly Christian spirit.—Perseverance of the Church of Rome in the establishment of a Nunciature at St. Petersburg.—Instructions of M. D’Italinsky, nominated Russian Minister at Rome, 1817.—Policy of the Holy See after the return of the Pope to Rome.—Part adopted by Cardinal Consalvi.—In ecclesiastical

matters he is pushed on by the fanatical section.—The Holy See maintained in its fanatical inclinations by the success of the conventions concluded with several European powers.—Concordat with Bavaria, 1817.—With France, 1817.—With the King of the Two Sicilies, 1818.—Convention with Prussia in 1821.—Death of Pope Pius VII., 1823.—The Cardinal Della Genga, elected Pope.—Takes the name of Leo XII.—The party of *Zelanti*, or Fanatics, predominant.

IN the course of this work we have had occasion to allude to some discussions which had taken place during the reign of the Emperor Alexander, between the Russian Government and the Court of Rome ; but we think it necessary to describe here the general relations between the two Courts.

On his accession to the throne the Emperor received an autograph letter from Pope Pius VII., bearing date April 27th, 1801, of which we quote the following passage : “ We need not assure your Imperial Majesty that having known perfectly the kindly spirit and the friendship of your august Father for our person, we are keenly conscious of the loss we have sustained, but we may add, with all sincerity, that our consolations and our hopes find the greatest support in the virtues of your Imperial Majesty. The high qualities which you have manifested in the sight of your subjects, and of the whole of Europe, even before mounting the throne of your ancestors, assures us beforehand that your

Majesty will surpass your august Father in the glory of your enterprises, in the protection and the favour that you will deign to accord to religion,—to your Catholic subjects,—in the interest you will take in the cause of the Roman Church, and we add confidently, in the affection and friendship your Majesty will cherish for our person.” At the same time the Court of Rome called attention to the promise of the Emperor Paul to assist in the restoration of those Legations, and the territories which had been won from the Court of Rome by the French Republic. The object of the negotiation of the Holy Father concerning temporal power, reduced itself to four chief points; the re-establishment of the three Legations, an indemnity for Avignon and the county of Venaissin, the evacuation of the French troops, and the restitution of the Pope’s domains, alienated from the time of the Roman Republic. “Without the assistance of the Court of Russia,” wrote Consalvi, “the Pope can indulge no hope for the future, but must even fear to incur fresh losses.”

The Emperor Alexander avoided, and very justly, taking any direct part in the concerns of the Holy See; but wishing to preserve friendly relations with the Court of the Vatican, instituted at Rome a permanent Embassy, rather with a view to

the spiritual needs of his Catholic subjects, than with any political intents. He made it his study, too, to obtain the Papal sanction for the measures taken by his father with regard to the Order of the Knights of Malta (in his quality of Grand Master), having made up his mind to interfere no more with the interests of this Order, utterly foreign as it was to the Russian Empire. In consequence, Count Cassini, who had resided at Rome, in the capacity of Consul General, was nominated, at the commencement of the year 1802, *Chargé d’Affaires* at this Court, and received from the Emperor a rescript which thus characterised the aim of his mission: “As to what regards political relations and the temporal power of the Pope, I can only record my earnest desires that the state of tranquillity which he now enjoys may be maintained and consolidated, and that he will receive the reward of those painful sacrifices which the Holy See has been obliged to make: I shall never refuse the aid of my best efforts to secure or advance the well-being of Rome, and to manifest all the marks of interest which animate me for the preservation of this power in Italy. As for what regards the spiritual power of the Pope, the only relations that can exist between us are those which affect the Catholic subjects of my Empire. My solicitude for

them makes me see with satisfaction that they will hence be more inclined to place themselves in communication with the Church at Rome, in matters of religion, in which they will experience neither annoyance nor hindrance, as long as they conform to what has been written and enacted by my predecessors with respect to freedom of Public Worship, the exercise of which is tolerated in my Empire, with this one qualification, that there shall be no aggression upon the dominant religion." At the same time the Abbé Benvenuti, who had lived in Russia many years, was recognised in the capacity of *Chargé d'Affaires* of the Holy See at the Court of Russia.

If Rome had been alone ruled by considerations for the welfare of religion, the establishment of these constant and regular relations with the Court of St. Petersburg would have proved perfectly adequate for the transaction of all business which called for the intervention of the Holy See ; but urged on by notions of a universal clerical domination, she did not cease to press for the creation of a Nunciature at St. Petersburg. Cautious not to pronounce the word "Nuncio," the Pope requested permission to send an ambassador to congratulate the Emperor on his accession to the throne ; on the pretext that he wished solemnly

to testify his regard for the august person of his Majesty.

The new ministry formed by the young Emperor was at that time chiefly composed of spirited young statesmen who had many excellent intentions, but very little experience. They agreed without difficulty to the nomination of an ambassador, and an answer in that sense was despatched to Rome. The Holy Father, well pleased with the issue of his enterprise, immediately named M. Arezzo his ambassador to Russia. It was not till after this nomination that the ministry inquired into the question of the antecedents of the Nuncios who had previously been in Russia, and ascertained their history. After this, the views of the executive changed, and everything was done to hinder the embassy. The Pope was begged to defer the mission to a later period, on account of the cramped condition of the Papal finances;—then it was declared that as the Holy Father had not elected the Grand Master, and had not sanctioned all that had been done regarding the Order of the Knights of Malta, the ambassador of the Holy See would not be admitted; and this last was a condition *sine quâ non*. Should this condition be accorded, Count Cassini was charged to make use of his personal influence for the deferment of this

embassy to another epoch. At last a proposal was made to the Abbé Benvenuti to remain in St. Petersburg to transact the business of the Holy See. But these expedients did not in any way modify the resolution of the Court of Rome; on the contrary, they only hurried on the mission of Monseignor Arezzo. "When I announced to Cardinal Consalvi the intentions of the government (wrote Count Cassini to the ministry), a thunder-clap would scarcely have startled him more thoroughly; he declared that this embassy was known to all Europe. He wrote letter after letter to the Chancellor, and obliged the Pope to address himself to the Empress mother, to secure the acceptance of this embassy. While this was going on, Monseignor Arezzo arrived at Vienna, presented himself to the Roman Emperor, in the character of ambassador to the Court of Russia, and announced his mission, by distinct letters to the Emperor Alexander, and to the two Empresses. The matter having gone so far, Count Kotchnby announced to the Abbé Benvenuti that this mission would be received, but that it could only be "temporary;" that the Emperor thought it better that things should be so arranged, as he did not wish the ambassadors of the Holy See, to interfere with temporal affairs, as Monseignor Litta had

done. At the same time the Cardinal Secretary of State was informed that the Emperor, to evince his personal respect for the sovereign Pontiff, consented to receive at his Court the said ambassador, Archbishop of Seleucia, in the quality of Papal Ambassador, but not as Nuncio, and that this minister would be received on the footing of the ambassadors of other crowned heads; that in the credential letters with which he would be furnished these conditions should be distinctly specified, so that no ground might possibly be left for the belief that he had come to St. Petersburg in the character of Nuncio; and inasmuch as this Embassy of the Holy See could have no possible aim besides that of being a mark of attention on the part of the Court of Rome, it must not be permanent, but be understood to last at the most for three or four months. Rome having gladly accepted all these conditions, Monseignor Arezzo arrived at St. Petersburg at the commencement of the year 1803.

In July of the same year, Count Boutourline, nephew of the Chancellor Woronzoff was nominated to the functions of Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Rome, and Count Cassini remained as Councillor of the Embassy. On this occasion the Emperor Alexander enunciated for the first time,

with every fulness and precision, his ideas on the relation of the two powers in his rescript to Count Boutourline.

“I expect that you will establish between the Holy See and my Catholic clergy such relations as shall make the sacerdotal supremacy press on them as lightly as possible. I recommend to your particular attention the details on which I am going to enter, for the purpose of instructing you as to what way you must regard this business.

“The Court of Rome having from early times manifested a distinct tendency everywhere to appropriate to herself the exclusive direction of Public Worship and the property destined for its maintenance, has, on more than one occasion, invaded the domain of temporal policy in the name of the spiritual. An order of things like this, establishing an independent polity in the very bosom of another State, cannot suit any nation whatever, and in awakening the mistrust of nations, in regard to the views of the Roman Court, has forced them to keep a close watch upon Papal intentions, and forced many Catholic countries in succession to put a limitation, more or less strict, on all connection with the Holy See.

“If in those countries where the Roman Catholic religion is dominant the ruling powers

have judged it not only allowable but necessary to put some limits to the Papal authority, as manifested among them, it is still more necessary to put it under some restraint in Russia, where Catholicism is, strictly speaking, only *tolerated*. While permitting my subjects who profess this religion to preserve their relations with the Sovereign Pontiff, it behoves me to watch that this authority over them should not exceed those limits within which I wish to circumscribe it. It ought never to be anything more than spiritual, and ought on no pretext whatsoever to infringe upon the temporal. I commit, then, to your vigilance the task of averting every attack which may be aimed; and the Court of Rome, if she be well advised, will on her own account refrain from any such, and thus remove from between us any cause of misconception that might induce unpleasant consequences. And as I, for my part, have no intention of provoking any coldness, but on the contrary desire to remove everything that could give occasion for such, it shall be in future arranged that the agents of the Court of Rome in Russia need not treat directly with my Catholic clergy, but that all transactions with the Holy See must pass through your hands; thus ensuring satisfactory results to your mission, for through you all cases

where the intervention of the Head of the Church is indispensable, will be treated ministerially from Court to Court, and not as transactions between Pastor and flock. Instructed by my ministry as to the requests which you forward, it is through it directly that the Catholic Metropolitan shall receive his answer from the Court of Rome. This step shall take effect as soon as you are installed in your post, and you will take care to inform the Cardinal Secretary of State thereof, while inviting him to adopt it.

“I will not pass over unnoticed the fact that the nomination of bishops is a regal prerogative which I mean to preserve untouched; and I expect, whenever occasion for its exercise shall arise, that his Holiness will not fail to transmit to me, at your request, the Bulls necessary for the consecration of those prelates whom I shall have nominated, and will abstain at the same time from elevating to the episcopacy “*de proprio motu*” any of my subjects, a proceeding calculated to produce anarchy, which cannot be allowed in Russia. And since misunderstandings may be prevented by explanations given in good time, you will take care to clearly pronounce *my will on this subject*. I confine myself here to informing you that if the Court of Rome be impracticable in regard to any

demands which you may have occasion to make in the course of your mission, you may observe that, since any communication with her at all is simply a measure of good feeling, she must recognise this as a concession which may be maintained or terminated at will ; so that difficulties will be quite useless, and a spirit of mutual conciliation be the only way of strengthening the ties which the wish of either party can immediately dissolve."

These principles (in perfect conformity with those which the Russian Government had constantly followed with regard to the Court of Rome) were laid down as the bases of all negotiations which the Russian Minister might henceforth hold with the Cabinet of the Vatican. But Count Boubourline was not left in a position to put these principles in execution, a circumstance altogether unforeseen having arisen to hinder his departure for Rome and also to put an end to the mission of Monseigneur Arezzo.

Vernègues, a French emigrant, entered the Russian service, and was, in 1804, in Italy, in the capacity of *attaché* to the Embassy. He spoke with disapprobation of the government then in the ascendant in France—a government whose relations with the Court of Russia were just then severely strained. Napoleon, through

Cardinal Fesch, required the arrest and extradition of this man, a naturalised Russian though he was. The Pontifical government decided to arrest him and rummage his papers, where they found nothing compromising, but afterwards had the weakness to hand him over to French agents, in spite of the positive promise made to the Russian Government not to permit him to be surrendered. He was handed over to the French commandant at Rimini. In consequence of this, the Emperor Alexander wrote to Count Consalvi by Prince Czartoriczsky, that it was impossible longer to continue relations with a government which the Emperor was under the necessity of considering either ill disposed towards him, or else despoiled of all political independence. The ambassador of the Holy See received an intimation to quit St. Petersburg. The *chargé d'affaires* at Rome was recalled, and the Russian *Official Gazette* announced the rupture of relations between the two Courts. The Pope was greatly pained at this; but his position excused his feebleness. In point of fact, what could he do against a sovereign who had restored public worship in his empire,—been the author of a concordat, and who now occupied Italy with his troops, making the whole of Europe tremble?

Pius VII., however, going to Paris that very year to consecrate Napoleon, asked for and obtained the release of Vernègues, and offered his apologies to the Emperor Alexander; but nevertheless the relationship between the two Courts was not renewed. Count Cassini went to Venice, and Arezzo stayed at Dresden two years, in the hope of being later recalled to his former post.

Archbishop Sévéroli, the Nuncio at Venice, made many attempts through the Russian Ambassador, Prince Kourakine, for a renewal of relations between the Holy See and the Court of St. Petersburg. "The Pope's Nuncio," wrote Prince Kourakine, in 1807, to the Chancellor of the empire, "is not contented with the indirect steps that he had already taken to ascertain what interpretation he ought to put upon my conduct with respect to the etiquette with which he is treated, and requested by note, a special interview; I answered that I should be very pleased to receive the Archbishop Sévéroli. The Nuncio opened up the conversation with every imaginable protestation of his master's attachment to his Majesty, and of the love and respect, confidence and regard, which he bears him. He added that it was by express command that he gave me this solemn testimony. He drew my attention, as a

proof of this, to the conduct of the Pope at Paris, where his pressing solicitations had overcome every objection of the Emperor Napoleon, and had been followed by the freedom of M. Vernègues. He pointed at the same time, to the example of the Court of Vienna, where the conduct of the Nuncio towards Count Rasonmoffsky had been uniform and trustworthy. After this introduction he came directly to the point, and told me with what satisfaction the Pope would see the fulfilment of his earnest desire, that the old relations should be as soon as possible re-established, that Archbishop Arezzo should be allowed to return to St. Petersburg, and that the mission of Count Boubourline should be accomplished." This endeavour of the Nuncio was not crowned with success.

Occasional intercourse with Rome, such as was positively indispensable for the Catholic clergy, was maintained at rare intervals, through the medium of Vienna ; but official relations were not renewed till after the return of the Pope to Rome in 1814. In spite of the open rupture between the two Courts, the personal relations of the two Sovereigns were never other than cordial, especially after the misfortunes which the Pope experienced since the year 1809. Although the Pope's arrest

by Napoleon had produced no effect in the Polish Provinces, where the people remained entirely indifferent to it, it excited a sincere compassion in the breast of the Emperor Alexander, who, from the time it took place, did everything in his power, in favour of the Pontifical captive. "After God, it is to Alexander that I owe having lived to see the termination of my captivity at Fontainebleau," said Pius VII. to the Russian minister at the Holy See, in 1822, "that I have been restored to the exercise of my functions, and been allowed to end my days at Rome. Since that hour there passes no day without my addressing fervent prayers to our Lord for the glory and happiness of your generous monarch."

From the beginning of 1813, when the allied troops began to gain decided victories over the armies of Napoleon,—an era that established the ascendancy of the Emperor in European affairs,—the Court of Rome did not cease to make applications to him, and to look to his magnanimity for a brighter future. No later that July in that year, the Nuncio of the Pope at Vienna, the Archbishop of Viterbe, entreated the Russian Ambassador, Count Stackelberg, to pledge his government to undertake the defence of Papal interests at the congress then about to assemble. In April,

1814, the Pope despatched Count Francis Philippe Magawly-Cerati with an autograph letter addressed to the Emperor Alexander, wherein he asked to be reinstated in his possessions.

On the 20th of May of the same year, Pius VII. again addressed a letter on this subject to the Emperor, written in his own handwriting. "We are convinced that all that has been torn from the Holy See since the French troubles began, will be altogether restored to us the day that peace is re-established in Europe. Meanwhile, at the moment when the congress, which will have to regulate the affairs of the civilized world must assemble, we supplicate your Majesty to have a care for our rights, and to conciliate to us the goodwill of our allies. We rest all our hope in the magnanimity of your Majesty, which is your principal attribute; and we make no attempt to conceal the satisfaction we have in contemplating the temporal affairs of the Holy See as placed in your hands. We ask, therefore, from your Imperial Majesty—and what we ask we expect with the fullest confidence—that you will have a kindly feeling towards us, that you will favour our rights and protect them with your authority."

In reply to this letter, the Emperor wrote to His Holiness: "I have recognised the deliverance of

the chief of the Catholic Church as one of the happiest results of the success which Divine Providence has granted to our arms. As to the part which I shall always take, in view of the temporal interests of the See, your Holiness need entertain no apprehensions. Count Magawly will have informed you how he has been received." Knowing the power which the Emperor Alexander had in the Congress of Vienna, the Pope wrote to him thus: "If your Majesty be on our side, of whom shall we be afraid." Eventually indeed it was particularly to the influence of the Emperor that the Holy See was indebted for the recovery of all the states of the Church. It was at this epoch that diplomatic relations so long interrupted between the two Courts were re-established, Major-General Baron de Tuyll went to Rome in the capacity of Minister Plenipotentiary. The choice of a military representative at this post, had its origin in the fear that the war would break out again in Italy, and with this view he first visited many towns in Italy, and in the central districts of France, and only arrived in Rome in November, 1815.

Thus, utterly unchanged alike by these events and by the disasters from which it had suffered, the Roman system in its temporal as well as

spiritual phases, held its ground. The same *régime* of Priestcraft was still imposed on the States of the Church, while the same spirit of fanaticism still inspired its agency. Soon after Baron de Tuyl arrived at Rome, Cardinal Della Somaglia, one of the most influential members of the Sacred College, called on him to discuss the subject of the Union of the Churches, so anxiously desired by his Holiness; saying, that the difficulties were not so great but that they could be smoothed down, without prejudice to the Papal Supremacy.

The Emperor answered that he would not pronounce an opinion on the subject; that the question must be discussed by those whom the Church had constituted the depositary of religious doctrine, and that he therefore proposed to await the opinions of the Holy Synod, neglecting, however, nothing which could be deemed conducive to the interests of Christianity in general. At the same time, the Russian Minister was directed to lay great stress, in his interviews with the members of the Sacred College, on the definitions necessary in a question of so great an interest, and specially to be careful to determine beforehand what one should understand by the "Union of the two Churches." Every time that the question had been brought forward, the

Romish Church had persistently and designedly confounded this sentiment, so full of consolation, with the idea of an absolute adhesion to those principles which she alone professes, as her conduct towards those who have been re-subjugated to her power adequately proves. Instead then of a union effected in complete consonance with the immutable principles of the Christian religion, we have only seen certain partial coalitions, where the spirit of the movement has been sacrificed to the advancement of individual prerogatives.

The Emperor Alexander, on his part also, earnestly desired the re-union of all Christian Churches, but with views very different in their largeness and sincerity, from the purely egotistical and fanatical aims of the Romish Church. For Rome only sought the universal establishment of her own dominion, while the Emperor was seeking to prepare the way for the reign of Christ. This lofty and spiritual idea, animating the Emperor, first showed itself in the promotion at St. Petersburg, of the Bible Society, where by the side of Greek and Roman bishops, were seated Protestant pastors and Armenian priests, and later on exhibited itself to the whole of Christendom in the international document called an "Act of fraternal and Christian Alliance of kings and peoples. If this Treaty,

signed at first on the 26th of September, 1815, by the Emperors of Russia and Austria, and by the King of Prussia, to which, later all the States of Europe, with the exception of the Court of Rome subscribed, could take effect in the direction of a practical execution, there would be no flaw in its perfection as an ideal to which kings and peoples ought to tend. This alliance was, as has been rightly said, an armed neutrality towards irreligion and fanaticism. The basis of this treaty of alliance in the principle laid down by the different sovereigns was, that the Christian world possesses, in that character, no sovereign but Christ himself.

On the other hand the Holy See has not ceased through successive ages to repeat that the Pope is the sovereign of sovereigns and of peoples; and in the case before us the Pope was not at all prepared to yield the supremacy to God. And seeing that this act detracted from the Papacy, Rome protested against this union, recognised by the whole of Europe; but we must allow that from her own point of view she could scarcely act otherwise, the *exclusivism* of Rome being irreconcilable with Catholic Christianity, in the broad and elevated sense of the term. It is a curious study to watch the conflict which spiritual Christianity was

waging against Romanism. The Pope felt that he owed a grudge to the Catholic monarchy who had signed the treaty of union, in being driven to defend the theory of his supremacy; while the Emperor Alexander rested his views chiefly on the Holy Gospel, and on the inconsistency of the union of the two—the temporal and spiritual powers in the person of the Pope. “Although the general point of view may be different,” he remarked in a letter to Rome in 1816, “it can scarcely be otherwise than true to affirm, all insinuation apart, that the Sovereign of the Roman States has, as the chief of the Western Church, set, by his refusal to subscribe the treaty, a somewhat singular example. An act of alliance so thoroughly conformable to the doctrine and spirit of Religion, and what is more, altogether so temperate, that it does not attack in the slightest or most indirect way the claim to supremacy made by the See of Rome, a treaty of such a kind, I say, does not afford the least justification for this refusal. Further still, the Pope in refusing puts himself in a painful dilemma, namely, that of either declaring that the fundamental dogma of our Lord and Saviour is, in his eyes, decidedly inferior to that by which he vindicates his own prerogatives, or by identifying the two, viz., the law of Christian obedience

and that of Papal submission—he assimilates the position of those Christian princes independent of the Papacy with that of sovereigns lost in the darkness of heathenism. The former of these assertions scarcely admits of being distinctly articulated. The latter impugns all the guarantees for the temporal sovereignty of the See of Rome, inasmuch as it implies the complete disorganisation of all those habits of deference which Russia, Prussia, Sweden, and North Germany have observed towards her. It is besides, this double character of the temporal and the spiritual powers, that has proved the stumbling-block of the, in other respects, far-sighted policy of the Vatican.”

This combination of powers spiritual and temporal,—a combination that has never harmonised, and of which the union in the same individual has been proscribed by Scripture itself, has been the cause of the unsatisfactory position of the Roman See, which in the conflict that has arisen between its functions, has assumed an attitude so negative, as to be scarcely edifying for Christendom; and which one must be content to deplore, without any hope of retrieval.

These two powers have never legitimately been united since the time of Melchisedek, a person wholly mysterious, typical, and supernatural. The

royal, priestly, and prophetic character, were united only in our Lord Jesus Christ, as the "Son of God." The Old Testament records the punishment inflicted on those who like Josiah tried to combine them. Even among pagans, men do not dare to approach the altar of sacrifice sword in hand. The sceptre of sovereignty is only the sword which punishes the guilty and protects the innocent. If the combination of the two powers had been enjoined in the ancient Law, which was a law of Justice, much more would it have been right in the New Covenant, which is a law of Love and Mercy. These principles of the Emperor, eminently Christian as they were, could evidently not be reconciled with the purely *Roman* principles of the Holy See ; and hence intimate associations, such as might be based on an identity of views and interests, were impossible between the two Courts, though that did not prevent the maintenance of cordial official relations between the two governments.

It is at any rate certain that the Emperor Alexander, in consequence of this discordancy of opinion, by which his deepest religious convictions were deeply wounded, was strengthened still more in his determination of imposing just bounds to the power of the Papacy within his dominions.

But as for the Court of Rome, she pursued her system. She thought, by refusing to extend the power of the Latin Bishops in Russia, to force the Czar's Government into the acceptance of a Nuncio, who should wield extensive ecclesiastical powers. The Russian cabinet, without giving any positive answer to this demand, associated the realization of this desire of the Holy See, with the acceptance of certain propositions concerning the Roman Rite in Russia, the preface to which declared that the Papal envoy could only enjoy in Russia a position purely political. Hence the propositions of Russia on the subject of ecclesiastical affairs not having been accepted at Rome, the question of the Mission of a Nuncio naturally dropped.

The Emperor was resolutely resolved not to allow the See of Rome to exercise a spiritual supremacy over the Catholic Churches, neither in a vague and capricious form, nor yet in forms which were incompatible with the laws of the Empire, nor permit it to exhibit its assumption by either indirect measures, or by those which had a tendency to become coercive, and thus harass the consciences of the clergy and the people.

M. Italinsky, summoned early in 1817 to replace Baron de Thuyll as Minister Plenipotentiary at the

Vatican, received instructions to regulate the affairs of the Roman Church in Russia, after the following principles:—1st, to maintain the purely spiritual character of the Papal supremacy over this Church, and consequently to eliminate for ever the possibility of that supremacy taking a direct or indirect shape in mundane politics or interests of any earthly kind. 2ndly, to assign to the exercise of this supremacy, *certain fixed forms*, so as to secure a spiritual direction to the Church, without this tendency, or the method of exhibiting it being liable in any case to come into conflict with the authority of the laws and the temporal government, under whose auspices the Roman Rite in Russia holds its very existence. 3rdly, in view of these principles, and to give practical effect to them, to maintain with mutual fidelity the method hitherto employed with regard to the nomination of bishops, the publication of briefs, and in general to all the administrative measures bearing on Public Worship; and in consequence to transmit, through the sole intervention of the Imperial Ministry, to the chiefs of the Roman clergy the rules and regulations which should be submitted to them by the See of Rome. And 4thly., to accept the privileges which the Roman clergy had solicited from the Court of

Rome, as a means of simplifying their reciprocal relations, and not of discouraging, by the shackles which distance multiplies, the ecclesiastical service of this Communion.

M. Italinsky was at the same time recommended to inspire Rome with that moderation of view which harmonised with reflection, and to help her to understand that her ambitious and exclusive pretensions were scarcely adapted to the entire system of Europe ; that she could only wield an essential influence in the balance of the destinies of Italy, by substituting for power abused and projects originated by ambition, the respect which she had never yet inspired, and a deliberative wisdom she had never yet shown ; that, in a word, this was the sole hope for her becoming esteemed as an authority in the spiritual world, and escaping the antagonism of those States which were influenced by so many motives for restricting her jurisdiction, because she had never ceased to be towards them hostile and menacing.

Unhappily these wise counsels were not accepted by the Holy See. The influence which the religious congregations, composed as they were of individuals of the regular Vatican stamp, and the jealousy which his colleagues entertained towards Cardinal Consalvi, exercised such an influence over

Pius VII. in spiritual matters, as to prevent him departing from that habitual line of fanaticism which the Court of Rome had always consistently followed. "Intolerance," wrote M. Italinsky in 1822 to the cabinet of St. Petersburg, "is by the Court of Rome elevated into a political maxim, and ignorance into a reason of State. A sojourn of six years at Rome has given me the profound conviction that the only plan to follow in the prosecution of relations with the Quirinal, is to determine to execute what the sovereign in his wisdom thinks fit for the well-being of his subjects, without asking Rome's approbation. The Canonical Institution of first fruits fairly levied, and the bestowal of the different faculties for those in orders, such are the sole points in which the supremacy of the holy See maintains, and ought to maintain, a direct influence in the Roman Catholic Church."

In political affairs the pontificate of Pius VII. was characterised by the omnipotency of Cardinal Consalvi. His devotion to Pius VII., his indisputable services to the Holy See, during the period of the Congress of Vienna, had won for him the entire confidence of the Pope, who, never having laid aside either the temper or the habits of a monk, was only too happy to find a minister on whom he could devolve some of the cares of government.

Cardinal Consalvi, a jealous and high-minded man, of good intentions, as well as indefatigable activity, was nevertheless deficient in that discernment necessary for the management of an ecclesiastical State, where the play of temporal and spiritual interests renders every question infinitely more complicated. The commencement of his career was not signalised by the initiation of those solid studies which would have enabled him later on to have proved of higher service. Liked and distinguished by Pius VII. he had always filled some office about the palace, and had in consequence never been qualified for anything but a courtier ; still, a happy natural constitution had supplied in some degree his deficiencies, and if he had possessed more tact, if he had known how to manipulate his equals, he had doubtless been one of the foremost men of the period. His first care was to despoil the College of Cardinals—the chiefs of the community—of all their functions, and to attach to himself the various threads of the administration ;—to centralize everything, and to disintegrate the established order of things. His *entourage* partook of neither the integrity of his aims or the purity of his views ; and hence a crowd of abuses and inconveniences compassed him about. The cardinals had only one thought,

and that was to destroy his influence, in which they succeeded most perfectly, as we said above, in spiritual affairs; and far as it was from the private convictions of the Cardinal Secretary of State, they managed to erect fanaticism into a political principle.

The very successes of the Holy See in her negotiations with foreign courts, seemed to establish this unfortunate tendency. In 1817 she concluded Concordats with Piedmont, Bavaria, and France: in 1818 with Russia, Poland, and the King of Naples: and in 1821 arranged an ecclesiastical convention with the King of Prussia; some of these Concordats were such as were eminently advantageous for the Vatican..

After four years' negotiation, a Concordat with Bavaria was concluded on the 6th of June, 1817, by which the king bound himself explicitly to increase, without any real necessity, the numbers of the dioceses and chapters in his kingdom; to leave the education of the clergy entirely in the episcopal hands, without any State control whatever; to reopen the convents which had been closed since 1803; to receive at his court a Nuncio *en permanence*; to allow the clergy to open direct relations with the Holy See; to submit the press to the censorship of the higher Catholic clergy of the

kingdom in all matters relating to religion and morality; and to abrogate the articles of the constitution, which guaranteed to the Bavarians of the two Protestant communions the possession of the same civil rights as the members of the Roman Catholic confession. These stipulations, which obtained for Mgr. Haefflin, the Bavarian Minister at the Court of Rome—who negotiated this concordat—a cardinal's hat, were universally considered as so thoroughly contradictory in spirit to the sovereignty of royal crowns and to the liberty of the people, that, after the publication of this convention, the Ministers of other Courts, who had come to Rome charged with the interests of their different Churches, utterly despaired of obtaining from the Vatican conditions which should harmonise with the dignity of their respective Governments. This treaty excited general discontent in Germany, and especially in Bavaria, even in the king's own council, and for a long time the official gazette did not dare to publish it. Public opinion accused the Bavarian Government of having concluded a Concordat without any previous consultation with the other members of the Confederation;—of having lowered itself to that degree, that it had become only a docile agent to execute all the commands of the Vatican;—of having sacri-

ficed the liberty of the press to the fanaticism of the clergy ; and of having, by the augmentation of the chapters, unnecessarily added to the burdens of the nation, only in order to foster clerical vanity and self-indulgence. The indignation which this Concordat provoked in Germany was so unanimous, that the Bavarian Government found itself forced to annul the two stipulations on the subject of the press and of Protestant worship, so contrary to the spirit of the age, that is to say, the Edict on Religion, and its Ordinance on the Liberty of the Press, published simultaneously with the new Constitution ; and this in spite of the engagement it had signed to consider the Concordat as a law of the State, in which neither the king nor his successors could make any alteration without the authority and co-operation of the apostolic See. These radical changes effected in the Concordat with the Court of Munich were distasteful to Rome, especially as this Concordat was considered as a type for future arrangements which might be made with the other courts of Germany.

On the 11th of July, 1817, was signed between the Courts of Rome and of France, that Concordat by which Louis XVIII., while renouncing all the advantages secured to him by the Concordat of 1801, consented to its abolition ; to

the abrogation of those articles termed organic, and to the augmentation, without any restriction, of the number of the dioceses ; and, lastly, engaged to re-establish the relations between the Church of France and the See of Rome on that footing on which they were at the commencement of the sixteenth century, and at which the world stood aghast. Practically, however, the Concordat between Leo X. and Francis I., signed in August, 1516, was not registered by the Parliament till 1518, and according to the order of the king ; while this forced inscription prevented neither the opposition of the Parliament nor of the clergy, who during a century never ceased to protest against the act, and insist on *The Pragmatic Sanction*, so contrary to the pretensions of Rome. Hence one may easily understand the general surprise at the revival of an act which Francis I. himself never regarded as advantageous for France, and to the acceptance of which that monarch was only brought by the urgent necessity under which he lay, of gaining the support of the Papal See through a reign marked as his was by storms and vicissitudes. This Concordat, energetically opposed by the public opinion of France, was never ratified by the Chambers, and thus never possessed any true legal validity. Even the Court of Rome was

itself convinced of the necessity of retracting it, and all these negotiations with the Holy See resulted in nothing but an increase in the episcopal dioceses. The Concordat of 1801, and the *Organic Articles*, alone preserved the force of law.

A Concordat not less advantageous for the Court of Rome, was, on the 16th of February, 1818, signed at Terracina by the King of Naples. By the provisions of this convention, the bishops had the right of censorship over all books printed in the kingdom, and Rome received complete authority over the clergy. The king in reviving the liberty of communication with the Holy See for the clergy of his realm, entered into an engagement to abrogate the *placeat regium*. While, in adopting the same stipulations for Sicily as for the kingdom of Naples, and in suppressing altogether the charge for the *delegat royal*, he had assimilated the relations between the Church of Sicily and the Holy See and Naples, in spite of those special privileges which this kingdom enjoyed, and which had been accorded to it by Urban II. at the close of the eleventh century. By the *placeat regium*, no Bull, Brief, Decree, or other act emanating from the Court of Rome could be received, printed, published, or put in execution within the kingdom till after the royal authorisa-

tion had been received. This edict, which in its origin went back to the time of the rule of Philip II., King of Spain, over the kingdom of Naples, had been renewed on different occasions. The right of nominating the *delegat royal* in Sicily was connected with special ecclesiastical privileges granted to King Roger, in 1097, by Pope Urban II. These privileges permitted, among other advantages, the kings of Sicily to exercise the power of legate of the Holy See, equally in circumstances where this jurisdiction was opposed, as where it was voluntarily conceded. Pope Urban II. declared by his Bull that he would execute the same official acts through the intervention of King Roger and his successors as he would perform through any ordinary legate, and formed his legatival establishment at the Court of Sicily on this footing. It was by virtue of this concession that the King of Sicily, like a legate of the Holy See, enjoyed the power of erecting new bishoprics, amalgamating existing ones, altering dioceses or suppressing them, and might act in the same way with abbeys; granting exemptions, disposing of benefices, pronouncing censure, absolution, etc. The judge whom the King nominated as his representative in the ecclesiastical jurisdiction was denominated the "Delegate of the King," and received appeals from

the decisions of the bishops. The stipulations of 1817 were then so thoroughly contrary to the interests of the State, and so intensely disapproved by all the subjects of the King who were capable of analysing them, that the Government of Naples found itself, to the great dissatisfaction of the Court of Rome, obliged ultimately to abrogate them, and re-establish the ancient prerogatives of the King in regard to ecclesiastical affairs of the kingdom.

In 1821 a Concordat of a much more temperate or moderate kind was signed with Prussia, one that had been prepared a good while before by M. Niebutre, the Prussian Minister at Rome. This convention contained the following conditions. 1stly. By a new arrangement of the dioceses, there were to be two archbishoprics,—that of Gnesno with two bishoprics, namely, Ermeland and Breslau; and that of Cologne, with three bishoprics, viz. those of Munster, Paderborn, and Trêves. 2ndly. The election of bishops and archbishops was committed jointly to the respective cathedral chapters, and to the See of Rome, which latter reserved the right of nomination to the bishoprics and to the vacant canonries during certain fixed months. A secret article engaged that the Pope would always in the case of vacancies

address a pastoral letter to them, to guard against the selection of individuals who might be distasteful to the King. The chapters should present their candidates to the Government, who would request through the instrumentality of its Minister at the Vatican, the confirmation of any one of the three who might seem to his Holiness the best qualified to fill the vacant place. The holy Father engaged on his side only to nominate during the months in which his right was in operation, such individuals as were subjects of the King, and such as had not given the government any grounds of displeasure.

On the 8th of August, 1823, Pope Pius VII. died. Even after he had breathed his last, his decease did not in the least weaken the courage of Consalvi, who imperious as ever, retained his influence in the early days of the vacancy of the Papal Chair over the decisions taken by the sacred college. But the storm soon broke over him. The whole body of Cardinals concentrated their one aim to elect a Pope who should be an enemy of Consalvi's, and thus neutralise the influence of those Powers, who, as they knew, had employed all their strength to guarantee to him a political existence in the future. Such were their views in the choice of Severoli, and

until he was excluded by Austria, the coalition among the anti-Consalvians maintained the same character, and was only engrossed with the one idea of choosing an individual who would have nothing to do with Consalvi or any of his institutions. Such were the ideas of Cardinal Della Genga, Vicar of Rome, who was elected Pope under the name of Leo XII. Cardinal Della Genga, who had figured in the career of Nuncio, was one of the most zealous defenders of the privileges of the Church, and was known for his opposition to the views of Napoleon, at the time when ecclesiastical affairs were being settled by the Confederation of the Rhine. Previous to that he had published, during the reign of Pius VI., a work in favour of the privileges of the Nunciature as against the ecclesiastical electors. He began by organising a council, composed of six cardinals selected from the party which at Rome was known by the title of *Zelanti* or fanatics; and he chose for his Secretary of State Cardinal Della Somaglia, the Dean of the Sacred College, an octogenarian who had entirely lost his memory. Cardinal Severoli, one of the most influential of the *Zelanti*, observed to a foreign minister, "Mark the principles which alone ought to guide the government of the State of the Holy See. They are, the

exaltation of the Curia Romana and the riches of the regular clergy." The Abbé Féa, a lawyer of moderate capacity, known for certain unedited works on the antiquities of which at Rome he was curator and inspector, a *Zelanti* of much loyalty, became the organ of the party in power ; and published two brochures, in 1825, against *the four propositions*, and in favour of the indirect domination of Popes in the temporal affairs of sovereigns.

Thus the spirit which animated the Court of the Vatican in matters ecclesiastical, was, from the time of the Pope's restoration to Rome, thoroughly hostile to the pressing requirements of the clergy and the whole Catholic Church in Russia, and could not but thwart the intentions, thoroughly sound but feebly urged, which, as we said above, the Russian Cabinet cherished in favour of the Catholics in the Empire ; while in return for the many and great services rendered by the Emperor Alexander to the temporal power of the Pope, His Majesty received no benefit whatever for the Latin clergy in his Empire. The only courtesy which the Court of the Vatican manifested towards the Emperor was confined to the settlement of a private matter, that is to say, the annulling the marriage of the Princess Charlotte of Bavaria with the

hereditary Prince of Wurtemberg, so that he, as soon as the divorce was declared, espoused the Grand Duchess Catherine, the sister of the Emperor Alexander.

CONCLUSION.

FROM the preceding we may therefore assert that, under the reign of the Emperor Alexander, the Roman Catholic religion and its representatives enjoyed in Russia, not toleration only, but even the patronage of the government. All professing this faith had full liberty to follow their own form of worship. The Latin clergy retained their immense estates, while the Roman Catholic Polish government had already begun to withdraw them. There was even an agent in the department of Public Worship to defend them and their properties; and they had obtained more real dioceses than they had in the time of Poland. In the circular addressed to the clergy at the commencement of 1807, on the occasion of the alliance of Russia and Prussia against Napoleon, Mgr. Siestrenciewicz could say with perfect justice, "In Russia we profess our faith without the least

hindrance ; with such freedom that we might even say our religion is the dominant one." We may go farther, and add that the clergy of the Church dominant do not enjoy the same privileges as those which were accorded to the Latin Church, possessed no such large territorial property, nor had in the western provinces, considering the relative number of the population, such large bishoprics as the Roman Catholics, and they were also less numerous. The Greek churches falling into ruin, and built only of wood, sometimes did not even resemble churches, testifying by the side of the magnificent Catholic temples, that the religion of peasants and the religion of lords remained the same as formerly under the Polish domination.

One would conclude from all this, that the Emperor Alexander and the Russian government might presume on at least some gratitude on the part of the Roman Catholic clergy, but it was not so. At the period so disastrous for Russia, the year 1812, when all Russia sacrificed country, fortune, and life, the Metropolitan Siestrencewicz wrote to Prince Galitzen : " Although, without any doubt, I ought to acknowledge that in general all Roman Catholic ecclesiastics living in Russia should give an example by their conduct, yet I cannot take upon myself all the responsibility of

such a promise." And the Metropolitan was not deceived; some Latin bishops, who should have been models to their clergy and their flocks, favoured the plans of Napoleon. Kossakowsky, suffragan of Courland, received him at Wilna; the coadjutor Bishop of Samogitia, the Prince Ignace Gedrojc, passed over to the French; Dederko, Bishop of Minsk, accompanied the French troops, stirred up the people to rebellion, engaged the youth to enter the ranks of Napoleon's army, bought over those who refused, or threatened them with excommunication, and then went to present his report to the head quarters of Napoleon.

At the death of the Emperor Alexander, when all Russia, without distinction of religion, wept for his loss, the Latin clergy of the Empire, who, during more than a quarter of a century, had prayed for him at their Masses, declined to follow the example of their brothers of the kingdom of Poland, refused to say Masses after death for the repose of his soul, under the pretext that he was a heretic; and it was only in a few Catholic churches that they prayed for the late protector of the Roman Church in Russia, one whom Pope Pius VII. remembered (as he said) every day in his prayers. The Metropolitan Siestrenczewicz, almost a centenarian, who had survived him, was himself

on the brink of the tomb, and the ecclesiastics who directed him at that period, gave on this subject the following explanation to Admiral Shishkoff: "The Canons of the Church do not permit of such funeral services. Pope Gregory III. and the Third Council of Latran expressly forbid the saying Masses for those who die without the pale of the Catholic Church. By the ordinances issued at different times, in favour of the Roman Catholics living in Russia, they have been allowed to administer their rites and to pray according to their canonical rules; the sovereigns of Russia never put any constraint upon Roman Catholics in regard to such funeral ceremonies. This is why, in my capacity of Roman Catholic archbishop in the Russian empire, I cannot give any prescriptions on this subject to the clergy in subjection to me, however bitterly we may deplore it in the present case. Such an act on my part would win for me an opinion very disadvantageous of almost a hundred millions of Roman Catholics residing in Europe, chiefly in Austria, in Italy, in France, in Spain, etc. From information which I have received I find that at a Roman Catholic church at Riga the funeral service was celebrated by the order of the civil authority, as well as at Odessa by the request of the Syndics, especially of M.

Renaud, who having a son, the director of the orchestra of the theatre, wished an occasion for him to distinguish himself by the performance of Mozart's Requiem. I only mention this incidentally, as I have no intention of further investigating the occurrence, which certainly reveals a wonderful devotion for the sovereign." Thirty years later the Roman canons did not hinder the Latin clergy from fulfilling their duties as subjects ; in all the Latin churches of the empire they voluntarily celebrated funeral services for the repose of the soul of the Emperor Nicholas.

As to the Ultramontane party, far from being satisfied with the favour under which the Latin clergy rejoiced beneath the rule of the Emperor Alexander, nothing satisfied them. They could not forgive the government either for the creation of the Ministry of Public Worship, an imitation (as they called it) of the impious institution of Napoleon, or for placing at the head of this ministry, to which all the existing confessions in Russia were subordinated, including the dominant, a minister professing not Catholicism, but the Greek religion. Let us hear Count Joseph de Maistre, and we shall hear from him, not without astonishment perhaps, that the Catholic religion not only was not tolerated in Russia, but that it

was even *persecuted* there. All this is explained by means of different sophisms more or less talented. Of what then were the Ultramontanes short? What did they require? Neither more nor less than omnipotence for Rome, and the exclusive domination of the Roman Catholic religion in Russia, with, of course, the right of persecuting other Christian confessions;—direct relations with the Pope for every Roman Catholic, without any control on the part of the government—a thing which even few Roman Catholic countries tolerate;—the establishment at St. Petersburg of a permanent Nunciature, which should administer the Church and the clergy according to the instructions of the Holy See, and impose the first fruits in favour of the Popes. They would have liked to abolish all the institutions of the State, with regard to ecclesiastical affairs, and rendered impossible any influence from the civil power; in a word, to have transformed Russia into a Papal province; to have revived, if they had been able, the *Décretals* and the epoch of Gregory VII., so dear to them. What valuable instruction this for every government which considers it necessary to beg the good offices of the Holy See? It may well be persuaded that it is impossible to satisfy Rome by any concessions in conformity with the

interests and dignity of the State; that every concession is only considered by her as a weakness, and that the relations between this ecclesiastical authority and temporal governments find their sole expression in a constant struggle—not sanguinary it is true, like the conflicts of the middle ages, but one of secret diplomacy and obstinate persistency.

The whole of the Roman system is based on egotism. Our Saviour and religion take the second place, while the Pope and his clergy occupy the first. But the times have gone by when Popes made and dethroned kings,—when sword in hand they maintained their power against all resistance, and with the weapons of anathemas and excommunications made whole nations stoop and tremble. That ancient power exists no longer; and in truth the overwhelming preponderance of the Papacy was only possible in the midst of nations in a state of infancy; but the desires, the tendencies, what we may call the system of action, has never changed. To-day, as much as ever, Rome feels the need she has for domination. The means alone have changed. The hierarchical organisation of the Church, created by the Holy See, is employed as an instrument for insinuating in the clergy that everything depends on Rome, and that her interests

ought first to be subserved, religion afterwards. It is on this principle that all the religious orders have been founded ; and it is in obedience to these considerations that they have been exempted from all subordination to episcopal authority, and form, so to say, a kind of Papal lifeguard. Their generals are to be found at Rome. If once they had any claim on Rome's favour, they won privileges for their corporations ; while these in turn attached them, as a matter of course, still closer to the Holy See, and made them forget every interest except that of the Court of Rome. It is precisely with a view to the same object that the Holy See only allowed the bishops those different ecclesiastical faculties, without which they could not exercise their functions except for a certain term of years, as for certain prescribed cases. This term expired, the bishops should apply afresh to Rome for their renewal, though they constituted no exception to the general rule, but were, on the contrary, essential to the exercise of Episcopal functions, without which this dignity would be nothing better than an empty title. It would surely appear that having once given consecration to a Bishop, the Holy See would have felt bound to maintain him permanently in possession of the powers essentially associated with his office. If he

did not fulfil his duties, Rome could remove him from his diocese; but if his actions proved in all respects conformable to the dignity conferred on him, why this periodical confirmation which had been once bestowed? Does there exist any single government which would require of those it has once named its chiefs, that, after a certain lapse of time, they should appear as suppliants for a continuance of the prerogatives attached to their very office? The Holy See instituted this rule equally with the view of constantly reminding the Bishop that his career was in the hands of Rome, and that Rome only he should serve.

The same idea beyond all question suggested to the Holy See the formalities which preceded the consecration of a Bishop. After having gathered, through its agents, the most complete details concerning the ecclesiastic whom the government destined for the Episcopal dignity, the Holy See announced its consent. It only remained then to fix his consecration? Very far from that! It was further necessary to ask for authority to institute the canonical process; to send this process to Rome, to solicit that it might be examined there, and after all these the Bull of consecration at last arrived. Whoever cares to examine the form of this canonical process, will easily arrive at

the conviction that there could be no probability of attaining a real knowledge of the individual submitted to this anatomical dissection; that this process is after all only a phase of subserviency, a formality as tedious as it is superfluous. Why then did the Court of Rome exact it, knowing as she did not only the complete biography of every ecclesiastic, but his very convictions, tendencies, and desires? Only to enforce on any impatient and ambitious prelate the fact that it was none other than Rome who could accomplish his wishes, and thus attract all his regards and all his hopes towards Rome herself. Such egotism erected into a system, although out of place in the ecclesiastical department, might still have been considered only as an infirmity,—a strange one perhaps and one incompatible with Christian humility, if it had not been dangerous to the Church. But when this egotism is positively pernicious, it becomes unpardonable on the part of a Patriarch who believes himself the representative of Christ on earth, and knows that there is no doubt but that it is pernicious. Without firm ecclesiastical local authority, the monks become demoralised, forget their vocation; the deserted convents themselves become objects of scorn to the people. Does not religion and the Church suffer by this? What

does it matter? Rome is on the alert. With the long correspondences for the extension of their official powers, the bishops, deprived of actual influence, remain often hampered by the impossibility of satisfying the just and most pressing demands of the faithful for their religious requirements; and this now and then betrays them into blamable acts. But what does this signify? The Court of Rome, in revenge, has the pleasure of seeing its power respected. We might protract this series of examples of the egotism of the system of Rome, but what we have already recorded suffices to prove the antagonism which exists between the interest of the Roman Catholic Church and that of her chief.

We have already seen the results of this system in the administration of the Latin Church in Russia under the Emperor Alexander: the complete decadence of the monastic life; the want of civilization among the clergy, and their unchristian covetousness; and with all this, the impossibility of the Bishops being really serviceable to the Church. Certainly there is no single act of the Emperor Alexander in favour of the Roman clergy which one could justly censure him for; but what one can fairly reproach the Russian administration of this period with is, that, in its mistaken belief

of the possibility of conciliating the laws of the State with the Roman Catholic Canons, it did not act independently, setting the Pope altogether out of the question, for the advantage of the Latin Church in Russia, as the Russian Ambassador at Rome, M. Italiansky, had recommended;—that illusions were indulged in as to the sympathy of the Holy See for this Church, which, if such sympathy existed, would have led Rome to sacrifice for the good of that Church her ambitious views;—that this administration had encouraged negotiations with the Court of Rome, whose impartiality it exaggerated, for objects which the civil authority should have decided, and this especially when the question was to establish order among the clergy.

One could only reproach the Russian Government with this, that nothing was refused to the Latin Church and clergy, who if they reached that stage of deterioration of which we have, in reliance on documents whose authenticity is unquestionable, given a description, were indebted for it to nothing but Rome and her traditionary system.

At the commencement of the reign of the Emperor Nicholas, the Pope was at length obliged to recognise with sorrow the pitiable condition of the Bishoprics, the dissolute state of public morality, and the decay of the religious sentiment among

the population of the Roman rite. A condition so lamentable as this could not have been developed during the two years of the new reign, when the government had as yet taken no important measure in relation to ecclesiastical administration, and consequently it could be attributed only to the anterior organisation of the clergy, based, as we have seen, on the Roman Canon Law. Thus the testimony of the Court of Rome itself as to the justice of our conclusions on the condition of the Latin Church in Russia, under the Emperor Alexander, is but an indirect and involuntary recognition of the imperfection of the Roman system, and the unquestionable evil which it has worked, as one may well be persuaded, on the religion, the clergy, and the population of the Latin rite.

THE END.

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